

# THE HERODS OF JUDAEA

BY

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## NOTE TO THE CORRECTED IMPRESSION

### *Pontius Pilate's Title*

In my *Studies in Roman Government and Law* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 117-25, I argued that until the reign of Claudius equestrian governors of districts and provinces were styled *praefecti*, and were in fact primarily military governors, and that the title *procurator* was reserved for the financial agents of the emperor. I accordingly inferred that Tacitus (*Annals*, xv. 44) was guilty of an anachronism in styling Pontius Pilate procurator of Judaea. My argument has since been confirmed by an inscription found at Caesarea (*Année épigraphique*, 1963, no. 104), of which the decipherable part runs:

. . .]S TIBERIEVM  
. . . PON]TIVSPILA TVS  
. . . PRAEF]ECTVS IVDA[EA]E

The inscription seems to record the erection at Caesarea by Pontius Pilate, the prefect of Judaea, of a building named after the emperor Tiberius.

### *The date of the Birth of Jesus*

The birth legends in Matthew ii and Luke ii. 1-29 are independent and mutually contradictory. The first represents Joseph as a native of Bethlehem, who, warned of the impending massacre of the innocents by King Herod, migrates to Egypt, and after Herod's death does not return to Bethlehem, over which Archelaus, Herod's son, is ruling, but settles in Nazareth of Galilee; it is not explained why the dominions of Antipas, another son of Herod, were considered safer than those of Archelaus. The story had evidently grown up to reconcile certain prophecies (see Matthew ii. 4-6, 15, 17-18) with the well-known fact that Joseph and



Jesus were men of Nazareth. The date of the birth in this story must be some time before March, 4 B.C., when Herod died. In Luke's story Joseph is domiciled at Nazareth, and goes to Bethlehem for the census, 'because he was of the house and lineage of David'. The motive lying behind the story is obviously the same as that behind Matthew's, to account for the apparent discrepancy between the prophetic *datum* that the Messiah would be born at Bethlehem, and the fact that Jesus was a Nazarene. The story is not very plausible, since it is absurd to imagine that the Roman government would have expected Joseph to register at Bethlehem because of his remote descent from David, but might pass muster, since a man's *origo* was determined by his father's *origo*, and not by his own place of birth or residence. There were many censuses in different provinces under Augustus, but the first in Judaea was in A.D. 6 (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII. i. 1).

The true date of Jesus' birth can only be inferred from Luke iii. 1-3, which places the beginning of the preaching of John the Baptist in A.D. 29, and from iii. 21-23, which puts Jesus' age when he was baptized at about thirty. This date accords with the traditional date of the Crucifixion in the consulship of the two Gemini, that is A.D. 33.

## INTRODUCTION

THERE can be few who have not heard of the Massacre of the Innocents or do not know how Salome danced and was rewarded by the head of John the Baptist on a charger. But there must be many to whom that 'Herod the king' who is the villain of the former story, and that 'Herod the tetrarch' who is the dupe of Herodias in the latter, are mere lay figures. And many who know of another 'Herod the king' who 'was eaten of worms and gave up the ghost', and of an 'Agrippa the king' who said to Paul 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian', know but little else of these shadowy figures that flit across the pages of the Acts of the Apostles. Some of those who read of these kings and tetrarchs may wish to learn more of them: what manner of men they were, how they came to rule the Jews, how well and with what policy in view they governed them, how the Jews liked them or disliked them and why, what place they had in the great empire of Rome. It is in the hope of satisfying this want that I have written this history.

To the modern reader the chief interest of the Herodian dynasty must lie in the fact that in its day Jesus of Nazareth lived and taught and the Christian community began its missionary career. But the very interest that we feel in the origins of Christianity tends to distort our view, and we are prone to assign to the early Christian movement, because of its later importance, a prominence which it did not possess at the time. It has been my deliberate object in writing this book to counteract this very natural propensity and to present the course of events in what is to the best of my judgement its true contemporary perspective. It is my belief that such a presentation should be of value to students of Christian origins: but quite apart from this the story of the able, ruthless,

but, according to the standards of the day, enlightened monarchs who ruled various parts of Palestine during the last half-century B.C. and the first century A.D. is in itself of great intrinsic interest. It was during their reigns that the conflict between the religious ideals of the Jewish people and the secularist tendencies of Hellenism, which they themselves did their best to promote, gradually came to a head and finally burst in the desperate rebellion in which the Jewish national state perished, perhaps for ever. And even from a purely secular point of view the story of the Herods is worthy of study. The Herodian kingdoms are the only client kingdoms of the Roman empire of which we have any intimate knowledge, and much can be learnt from a study of them of the nature of these anomalous institutions. Palestine is also almost the only district of the empire whose story we know not from the point of view of the Roman government but from that of the subject people. From its history we can learn what the Roman empire meant to the vast majority of its inhabitants, who did not live in Italy and belong to the ruling race.

The sources from which our knowledge is drawn are many and various. The historians of the Roman empire—Tacitus, who wrote his *Annals* and his *Histories* under Trajan; his contemporary Suetonius, who wrote biographies of the emperors from Caesar to Domitian; Appian of Alexandria, who recorded the wars of the Romans in the reign of Antoninus Pius; and Cassius Dio, who compiled his history of Rome in the early third century A.D.—occasionally deign to mention the affairs of the Jews. The historical and political geographer Strabo, who lived at the time of Augustus, gives a sketch of Judaea and its history. The Gospels and the Acts provide some specific historical information and a most illuminating picture of social conditions in the first century A.D. Philo, the learned Jewish scholar of Alexandria,

has left us a vivid picture of the troubles of the Jewish community in that city in the reign of Gaius, and of the part which Agrippa I played in allaying them. The latest apocryphal books reveal the religious aspirations of the Jewish people, and the Talmud has preserved some instructive anecdotes. Something, too, is to be learnt from the coins issued by the Herodian kings and by the Roman government in Palestine, from papyrus documents, from the very few inscriptions that have survived, and from the rather meagre remnants of the buildings of the age. But by far our most important source of information is Josephus, and the chief problem of the historian is to sift the sources from which he derived his information, to assess their value, and to make due allowance for Josephus' own prejudices. Josephus was a priest of good family—it belonged to the first of the twenty-four 'courses' and boasted kinship with the royal Hasmonean line—and intensely proud of his race and religion, which he hotly defended in polemical pamphlets against the attacks of Greek critics. He made, he informs us in his autobiography, an intensive trial of all the schools of Jewish thought—the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and even the Essenes—and finally adopted Pharisaism. But from the nature of his upbringing he naturally belonged to the conservative wing of the Pharisee party, which was in close touch with the Sadducees, and he has nothing but abhorrence for left-wing movements such as those of the Zealots or the Sicarii. Politically, therefore, his allegiance was awkwardly divided; though Jewish to the core he loyally accepted Roman rule, and he fluctuates between a desire to uphold the excellence of the Roman empire and a contrary desire to palliate, if not to justify, the rebellion of the Jews by exposing the faults of their Roman governors. Josephus has left us two principal works, *The War of the Jews*, which he published between A.D. 75 and 79, and *The Antiquities of the Jews*, which



appeared in A.D. 93. The former work deals mainly with the Great Rebellion of A.D. 67-70, but the opening book and a half is an historical introduction and gives a brief sketch of events from the revolt of the Maccabees onwards. The *Antiquities* begins with the Creation and ends at the eve of the Great Rebellion. We thus possess two versions from Josephus' pen of the story of the period treated in this book, and mutual comparison is often illuminating. Josephus was born in A.D. 37. For the latter part of this period he is thus a contemporary, and he probably wrote mainly from personal knowledge. For the careers of Antipater and Herod the Great he had at his disposal a number of written sources, including the *Memoirs* of Herod the Great, which he once cites, but the bulk of his material he derived from the *Universal History* of Nicolaus of Damascus, who as court historiographer of Herod the Great naturally gave great prominence to the affairs of his employer and his employer's family. The tone of Nicolaus' history—of which a few fragments survive independently of Josephus—was as might be expected highly encomiastic, and Josephus is not very successful in correcting this tendency. He is prone to alternate pages of laudation of Herod with pages of diatribe, the matter of which is probably derived in the main from oral tradition, which was strong among the Jews, though some scholars postulate an anonymous Jewish historian who rewrote Nicolaus with a hostile bias to Herod. When Nicolaus stops—that is, after the settlement which followed Herod's death—Josephus' record suddenly becomes extremely meagre, since he had to rely solely on oral tradition and rather arid public records, until gradually as he comes nearer his own time he expands again.

# I

## THE FOUNDING OF THE DYNASTY

**I**N the year 538 B.C. a huge caravan, numbering nearly fifty thousand souls, trailed across the desert from Mesopotamia to Syria. They were Jews, returning at last to the land of their fathers after fifty years of exile in Babylonia. The kingdom of Babylon had fallen, and its conqueror, Cyrus, king of the Medes and Persians, had generously consented to the repatriation of the descendants of those whom Nebuchadrezzar had carried away from Jerusalem.

Arrived at their destination the Jews settled in the tiny territory allotted to them, Jerusalem and its immediate neighbourhood, and immediately reinaugurated the worship of God. They next set about rebuilding the temple, but in this project many delays and disappointments awaited them. Their return was unwelcome to many of their neighbours, who had of old been enemies of the kingdom of Judah, and to none more than to the Edomites (or, to use the Greek form of the name, Idumaeans), who had taken a prominent part in the siege of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. and had been rewarded with a substantial part of the territory of the kingdom. But not content with their ancestral enemies the Jews proceeded to make others for themselves. They were approached directly they returned by representatives of the people of Israel, the old northern kingdom destroyed by the Assyrians, who, according to the Jewish account, offered to join in rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, or, according to their own chroniclers, invited the Jews to participate in the worship of God in their own temple on Mount Gerizim, where alone, according to their version of the Decalogue, He might be worshipped. Whichever the proposal—and if the second version of the story is correct, the sequel is more understandable—it was

rejected with insulting disdain by the Jews, who claimed that they alone were the people of God and that the inhabitants of the land of Israel (whom they derogatorily dubbed Samaritans) were the descendants of alien settlers planted there by the Assyrian kings. This incident was the beginning of a bitter feud between the Jewish and what may for convenience' sake be called the Samaritan communities, a feud which was to endure for centuries. Its immediate result was that the Samaritans, with the other neighbouring peoples, used all their influence with the Persian authorities to hinder the rebuilding of the temple, and to such effect that no progress was made during the reigns of Cyrus and his successor Cambyses. Under Darius, encouraged perhaps by the new régime of order and justice which that vigorous king established in his dominions, the Jews, roused by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, made a fresh start. Tattenai, satrap of Syria, intervened, asking by what authority they acted, but, on being informed that the re-erection of the temple had been authorized by a decree of Cyrus, allowed the work to proceed, writing meanwhile to Darius for verification of the claim. A search was made in the royal archives, and the decree was found and confirmed by Darius, who further ordered a grant in aid to the work from the revenues of the satrapy. The building proceeded rapidly, and in the sixth year of Darius (516 B.C.) the temple was solemnly dedicated.

After this we hear no more of the affairs of the Jews till 458 B.C., when the community received a welcome reinforcement and an even more welcome gift of money—for it was miserably poor—through the initiative of Ezra. Ezra was a priest, learned in the Law, and he was shocked to find that the returned exiles had so far forgotten its enactments as to intermarry with the natives of the country. He took the matter in hand, and under his influence mixed marriages were annulled. This step was not calculated to promote goodwill

with the neighbouring communities, and renewed hostilities seem to have resulted. In 445 B.C. Nehemiah, a Jew who held the high post of cupbearer to the Great King, learnt from some Jews who had come up to court that the walls of Jerusalem were broken down and its gates burnt with fire. He resolved to remedy this state of affairs, and used his influence with his master to obtain his own appointment as governor of the Jewish community. How, despite the threats of the neighbouring communities, led by Sanballat, governor of the Samaritans, he rebuilt the walls, and how, this task accomplished, he carried through an extensive programme of social and religious reforms, compelling the rich to cancel their mortgages and restore their lands to the poor and reinforcing the authority of the Law by a solemn renewal of the covenant between God and His people, is vividly told in his own words in the book which bears his name. When in 432 B.C. he retired from the governorship he left the Jewish community firmly established.

During the remaining century of Persian rule we hear virtually nothing of Jewish affairs. It must have been during this period that the leadership of the community gradually passed to the high priests. The first governors of the Jews—Sheshbazzar who led the return and Zerubbabel who rebuilt the temple—had been members of the old royal line, and not only ruled the community by virtue of their commission from the Great King, but had been its real leaders by the prestige of their birth. But later the Persian government, perhaps distrusting the loyalty of national princes, had changed its policy, and subsequent governors were not of the royal line. They might, like Nehemiah, be Jews, but Nehemiah's case was apparently exceptional; normally they were, in all probability, like Bagoas who ruled in the last decade of the fifth century, Persians. As gentiles they would take no part in the inner life of the Jewish community, and its leadership, now



that it had no secular head whom the Jews could recognize, naturally passed to its spiritual heads, the line of high priests, descended from Aaron. The high-priesthood was already by the end of the fifth century an important and eagerly coveted post. The high priest at that time was John, but he had a bitter rival in his brother Jesus, who relied on the favour of Bagoas. The quarrel culminated in John's murdering his brother in the temple itself; Bagoas avenged his protégé by imposing on the Jews for some years a special tribute of fifty shekels for every lamb sacrificed.

In 333 B.C. Alexander, king of Macedon, defeated the Great King, Darius III, at Issus, and Syria passed under his rule. Legend has inevitably brought Alexander to Jerusalem, but it is unlikely that he ever visited the town. All that the conquest meant to the Jews was probably that in place of a Persian they had a Greek or Macedonian governor. No disturbances are recorded in Judaea. In Samareitis the people revolted against their new governor, Andromachus, and captured him and burnt him alive; the Samaritans were subdued, and to secure their future obedience a Macedonian military colony was planted in their capital, Samaria. Alexander died only ten years later and a stormy period followed. His generals, now that they had no master to hold them in awe, began to fight each for his own hand. Their first step was to distribute among themselves the satrapies which they were to rule under the nominal overlordship of Alexander's infant son and idiot half-brother. Syria fell to a Greek named Laomedon, but he did not hold it long. Ptolemy, who had obtained the satrapy of Egypt, was determined to add Syria to his dominions and he made short work of Laomedon. He in his turn was ejected by Antigonus, who aspired to step into Alexander's place; he reoccupied it in 312 and was again expelled in the following year. Finally, on Antigonus' fall in 301 B.C., Syria was partitioned. Ptolemy, by now king of

Egypt, held the southern half up to the river Eleutherus. Seleucus, originally satrap of Babylonia, who had built up for himself a kingdom stretching from the Taurus to India, held the northern half, and in it built his capital Antioch. Despite periodic wars between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties the partition remained substantially in force for just a century. Then in 201 B.C. Antiochus III defeated the Ptolemaic forces at Panium, and all Syria was united under Seleucid rule.

During all this period there is little to relate of the Jewish community. But meanwhile a great cultural change was taking place: Greek culture was gradually establishing its dominance in the Levant. The sudden collapse of the vast Persian empire, which had stood apparently invincible for two centuries, before a tiny army of Greeks, produced a profound impression on the minds of its subjects, an impression which was deepened by the arrogant contempt in which they found that their new masters held 'barbarians'. The peoples of the Levant were filled with a consciousness of their own backwardness, and, ashamed of their native cultures as a barbaric survival, eagerly tried to assimilate that of their conquerors. There were, moreover, practical reasons for learning Greek ways. The Greeks were the governing class, and Greek was the language of government. No native could aspire to a government post without learning the language, nor hope to be admitted to high society without conforming to Greek manners. The movement was confined to the upper classes, but amongst them it was extraordinarily thoroughgoing. They learnt to speak Greek, they wore Greek clothes, they read Greek literature, they aped the social customs of the Greeks and in particular their cult of athletics, they took Greek names. And as time went on they came to regard themselves as Greeks, and to be accepted as such; for the Greeks estimated a barbarian not by the colour of his face but by his manners. When the authors of the books of Maccabees

or Josephus speak of Greeks, they mean not men of Greek blood, but their Hellenized Syrian neighbours; and so the term will be used in this book.

The progress of Hellenism was naturally more rapid in some parts than in others. In Phoenicia and along the coastal plain of Palestine, where intercourse with the Greeks had begun earlier and had always been more intimate, the adaptable population of the commercial towns made rapid progress, and these towns, which had always enjoyed a greater measure of self-government than the peasant communities of the interior, transformed themselves into Greek cities, remodelling their constitutions and adopting Greek as their official language. In the mountains inland progress was slower, but by the beginning of the second century B.C. things were beginning to move even in Judaea, though here, owing to the traditional xenophobia of the Jews, there was much opposition. Here, as everywhere, it was the aristocracy, including the richer priests, who were the leaders. The protagonist of the movement was Jesus (or, as he preferred to be known, Jason), the brother of the high priest Onias III. At the beginning of the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-163 B.C.) he secured from the Seleucid government by the offer of a large instalment fee the deposition of his brother and his own appointment as high priest. He then proceeded to carry out his programme of Hellenization. He obtained—at the expense of another heavy payment—a charter of autonomy for the Jewish community, which was henceforth to be known as ‘the city of the Antiochenes in Jerusalem’, and a permit to establish a gymnasium and institute ephebic training. The Hellenizing party rallied enthusiastically to the new régime, and the conservatives were shocked to see even the priests scamping the temple service to hurry to the gymnasium, and going about the town wearing the broad-brimmed hat which was the only garment of the ephebe.

There is no reason to think that the advanced spirits of the Jewish community ever contemplated abandoning the faith of their fathers. But in their zeal for the new culture they *made dangerous compromises with paganism*; 'the city of the Antiochenes in Jerusalem', for instance, sent an official delegation to attend the games held at Tyre in honour of Melkart (or, as the Tyrians now preferred to call him, Heracles). There were grave misgivings among the conservatives, and these misgivings were increased when Jason was ousted from the high-priesthood by an ambitious rival, Menelaus, who was not of Aaronic descent and not even of priestly family. Menelaus was an unsavoury character—he embezzled the temple treasure to pay the enormous instalment fee by which he had secured his promotion, and he procured the assassination of the ex-high priest Onias III, then living at Antioch—and reflected no credit on the Hellenizing party. How things might have gone if the Jews had been left to themselves it is hard to say. But Antiochus IV did not leave them to work out their own solution. He had a policy of his own, to bind together his rather amorphous kingdom by promoting throughout it a uniform Hellenic culture. The Jews, though making creditable progress, were still very backward—it was time they gave up their barbarous practice of circumcision and worshipped a civilized god—and he determined to force the pace. In the year 167 B.C. a powerful government force occupied the city and proceeded to build itself a fortress overlooking the temple. Then, to the horror of the Jewish people, the temple was rededicated to Zeus Olympius, a pagan ritual established, and circumcision prohibited.

The sequel is a familiar story. A priest of the family of Hashmon named Mattathias, with his five sons, raised a revolt. The rebels, hardy mountaineers adept at guerrilla warfare, under the able leadership of Mattathias' third son, Judas, defeated several expeditions sent to stamp them out,

and after three years Lysias, regent for Antiochus IV, who was absent on an expedition in the eastern satrapies, determined to abandon his master's policy. In 164 B.C. the temple was purified and rededicated to the God of Israel.

But this concession did not bring peace. The religious feelings of the Jewish masses had been stirred to their depths and they were resolved to tolerate no longer the rule of the Hellenizing aristocracy—Menelaus was still high priest, and when he was deposed a few years later he was replaced by a man scarcely more acceptable to the pious, one Eliakim, who was, it is true, of Aaronic descent, but had conformed during the pagan persecution and even now preferred to be called by a Greek name, Alcimus. The struggle continued with varying fortunes. In 160 B.C. the rebel bands were crushingly defeated and Judas killed, but his brother Jonathan stepped into his place and maintained the guerrilla campaign against the authorities in Jerusalem. Meanwhile the power of the Seleucid government was beginning to crack. Ever since the death of Antiochus IV in 163 B.C. the succession had been disputed—a fact which explains the spasmodic way in which the government conducted its campaign against the rebels—and soon Jonathan was able to take advantage of the dissensions of the dynasty to regularize his position. In 152 B.C. he received from a pretender to the Seleucid throne, Alexander Balas, an offer to appoint him high priest in return for his support. Jonathan accepted and luckily Alexander won. Two years later Jonathan was rewarded for his services with the posts of military and civil governor of Judaea, to which in 145 B.C. Demetrius II, to whom on Alexander's fall Jonathan transferred his allegiance, added three districts of Samareitis. On the same occasion Jonathan compounded for the annual tribute by a payment of 300 talents and thus became a vassal prince in all but name. The only remnant of Seleucid suzerainty was the garrison in the citadel, and it was forced to

capitulate by Simon, who succeeded Jonathan in 143 B.C. Simon conquered the towns of Gazara and Joppa, and expelling their inhabitants colonized them with Jews, thus securing for his principality an outlet to the sea. His son John Hyrcanus (134-104 B.C.) had at the beginning of his reign to face a resolute attack by Antiochus VII Sidetes, who for a time arrested the decay of the Seleucid power, and had to yield. Jerusalem was captured, but Antiochus respected the grants of his predecessors and merely insisted on an indemnity and the payment of tribute for Joppa and Gazara, which Simon had occupied without royal authorization. Sidetes was the last strong Seleucid king, and from his death in 129 B.C. there was almost continuous civil war between rival claimants for the throne. Taking advantage of these wars John, during the latter years of his reign, launched out into wars of conquest. To the north he captured and destroyed the city of Samaria and annexed all the district of Samareitis, and pushing on yet farther took Scythopolis. To the south he subdued the hereditary foes of the Jewish people, the Idumaeans, and forced them to accept circumcision and the Jewish faith. This compulsory conversion proved successful; the Idumaeans soon became zealous champions of their adopted faith and came to regard themselves as Jews, though Jews of the old stock still cherished some animosity against their agelong enemies. John's son Judas, better known by his Greek name Aristobulus, during his brief reign (104-103 B.C.) subdued the Ituraean population of Galilee and forced circumcision upon them also; here again the enforced conversion was lasting, and the Galilaeans became more Jewish than the Jews, though still regarded with some suspicion and contempt by Jews of the old state—'Can any good thing come out of Galilee?' was a proverb in our Lord's day. The military prowess of the Maccabee house culminated in Aristobulus' younger brother Alexander Jannaeus (i.e. Jonathan),

whose long reign (103-76 B.C.) was almost entirely occupied with wars. His most permanent achievement was the conquest and Judaization of a belt of country beyond the Jordan, later known as the Peraea. But his chief fame is as a destroyer of cities. He waged a ruthless war against the many city republics which had, during the decline of the Seleucid power, secured for themselves charters of independence and hemmed in the Jewish kingdom on the west and north-east. By the end of Alexander's reign only two cities on the Mediterranean coast-line maintained their independence, Ptolemais and Ascalon. The others—Gabae, Dora, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Jamnia, Azotus, Anthedon, Gaza, Raphia, and even Rhinocolura on the Egyptian frontier—were all subdued and many of them destroyed. Inland Philoteria on the sea of Galilee, Seleucia and Hippos to the east of it, and Abila, Gadara, Pella, and Dium east of Jordan had all been subdued or destroyed.

Two other races of southern Syria had been at the same time as the Jews, though not with such striking success, pursuing a similar policy of expansion. In the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon and the narrow intervening plain of the Massyas lived the Ituraeans, a wild and unruly people, notorious for their brigandage and much in demand in foreign parts as skilful archers. They had extended their conquests both east and west. On the coast, where the powerful city republics of Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre held them at bay, they had not been very successful. Only in the northern Lebanon had a dynasty of Ituraean princes succeeded in breaking through to the coast, capturing Botrys and Arca. A more important dynasty, the high priests of Heliopolis and princes of Chalcis, had achieved greater success inland. They had occupied the lowlands east of the Anti-Lebanon to the north of Damascus, and to the south of Damascus the plain of Batanaea, the lava field of Trachonitis and the northern part of the mountains

of Auranitis. They thus almost encircled Damascus, and their ambition was to force that great city into surrender by cutting off its trade. Here they came into conflict with the other rising power of southern Syria, the Nabataeans. The Nabataeans were a race of merchants. From their central emporium at Petra their kings had been gradually extending their authority along the trade routes which radiated from it, southwards along the east coast of the Red Sea towards the kingdoms of Arabia Felix, westwards across the Sinai peninsula to the borders of Egypt, northwards along the desert edge to Bostra and thence to Damascus, which Aretas III actually held for a few years, having been called in by the Damascenes themselves to resist the aggressions of Ptolemy the son of Mennaeus, the Ituraean prince.

These three powers, the Jews, the Ituraeans, and the Nabataeans, between them shared the greater part of southern Syria. On the west half a dozen city republics managed to maintain their independence. Inland Damascus was the last foothold of the Seleucid kings in southern Syria, until it also threw off their useless allegiance and tried to defend itself with the occasional aid of the Nabataeans. The only other independent power inland was a dynasty which ruled in Galaaditis and Ammanitis. Alexander captured from Theodore son of Zeno much of his territory, but he still contrived to hold his capital Philadelphia and Gerasa. Of the three great powers the kingdom of Judaea was not only territorially the largest, but the strongest militarily. Aristobulus had wrested Galilee from the Ituraeans; thereafter, though they had a long common frontier, especially after Alexander's conquests on the north-east, the Jews and the Ituraeans do not seem to have come into conflict. The Nabataeans came into conflict with the Jews on two fronts, and on both they were beaten. In the south Aretas II had attempted to open up direct access to the Mediterranean by allying himself with



Gaza; but Gaza had fallen, despite his efforts, to Alexander. Obedas, Aretas II's successor, had disputed with Alexander the possession of the lands east of the Jordan. He had been unsuccessful and had been obliged to cede to the Jewish kingdom the districts east of the Dead Sea, Esbonitis and Moabitis.

Under Alexander Jannaeus the Jewish kingdom was thus the leading power of southern Syria. But flourishing as it seemed to be its internal condition was far from sound. The early Maccabee princes had been the leaders of a national revolt. They had been the champions of the purity of the national faith both against the aggressive Hellenism of Antiochus Epiphanes and against the more insidious but scarcely less detestable Hellenic leanings of the Jewish aristocracy. They had had the determined support of the rising sect of strict believers who were soon to crystallize into the Pharisee party, and of the mass of the people, who revered if they could not emulate these rigid sectaries. So strong had been their hold on the loyalty of the people that Simon had been able in 142 B.C. to obtain from a national assembly popular ratification for his brother's illegal usurpation of the high-priesthood, which belonged by right to the descendants of Aaron and which he had held by no better title than appointment by the Seleucid king, Alexander Balas. But as the Maccabee dynasty became more firmly established, it tended increasingly to take its tone from the old aristocracy of rich priestly families, which, though purged of the extreme Hellenism which they had affected a generation before, still maintained a liberal attitude to foreign culture; it is perhaps symptomatic that after the first generation, Judas and his brothers, all the Maccabee family took Greek names. And as the danger to the faith became less pressing, the enthusiasm of the pious for the warlike policy which they followed waned. The first open breach between the Pharisees and the dynasty

came under Hyrcanus. Josephus tells the story. Hyrcanus had invited the Pharisee leaders to a banquet and asked for their guidance and instruction. One of the guests, a man named Eleazar, rose and told him that it was his duty to renounce the high-priesthood and to content himself with the civil government of the people, since it was said that his mother had been a captive. This incident gave the aristocrats—or, as they are now called, the Sadducees—their chance. Hyrcanus was naturally deeply affronted by the direct assault on the legal basis of his power and suspicious of the loyalty of the Pharisees. One of his noble friends, Jonathan, urged him to put the matter to the test by asking the Pharisees what punishment Eleazar deserved for his treasonable suggestion. The reply of the Pharisees, that he might be beaten and imprisoned but did not deserve death, confirmed Hyrcanus' suspicions, and he determined to take a strong line, proscribing the party and prohibiting the peculiar Pharisaic practices.

The power of the Pharisees was not to be broken by such repressive measures. They were, it is true, probably not very numerous—under Herod they numbered only six thousand—but the story shows that they were already, as they certainly were later, a regular society with definite rules of membership. Such a disciplined body of picked men was a powerful force, and it was all the more dangerous since it had behind it all the mass of the pious Jews, who, though unequal to undertaking the severe obligations of membership, revered those who could live the perfect life according to the Law. From henceforth the Hasmonaean dynasty lost most of its popular backing, and tended to rely more and more on force. Aristobulus yet further outraged popular sentiment by assuming the diadem and the title of king, which lawfully belonged to the house of David alone. The antagonism of the people to the ruling house came to a head under the rule of the brutal Alexander. He maintained his power largely by the use of

foreign mercenaries, recruited from among the hill tribes of Pisidia and Cilicia, and he had to face several popular risings. Once when he was officiating as high priest at the feast of Tabernacles the crowd pelted him with the citrons which they brought with them for the celebration; this riot was quelled by the slaughter of six thousand Jews, but thereafter Alexander took the precaution of building a barrier across the temple court to keep the people at a safe distance. Later there was a more serious rebellion, when the opposition called in the Seleucid king Demetrius Eucærus to rescue them from their own king. Demetrius was at first successful, but his success caused a revulsion of feeling among the Jews who followed him—as against the alien the Maccabee dynasty still commanded the allegiance of the masses and was long to command it—and Alexander was able to re-establish his position. He celebrated his success with a great banquet at which eight hundred of the Jewish rebels—evidently, as the sequel proves, members of the Pharisee party—were crucified and their wives and children slaughtered before their eyes while they yet hung living on their crosses.

Alexander died at the age of forty-nine, worn out by constant campaigning and heavy drinking, leaving two sons. The younger, Aristobulus, inherited his father's violent and masterful temper, but the heir, Hyrcanus, was of feeble character and perhaps of feeble intellect. Alexander's widow, Salome, or in Greek Alexandra, took advantage of the situation to seize the power herself. She had long disapproved of her husband's policy of brutal terrorism, and this fact had been known to the Pharisees. She now with their support proclaimed herself queen in her own right, allowing Hyrcanus to be no more than high priest. In foreign affairs she kept the control in her own hands, maintaining like her husband a powerful mercenary army, but in internal affairs she relied entirely upon the support and guidance of the Pharisees,

allowing them to recall the members of the party whom her husband had exiled and release those whom he had imprisoned, to restore the Pharisee practices banned by Hyrcanus and to administer the Law according to their own interpretation. She was naturally highly popular with the pious; Alexandra's reign is recalled in the Talmud as a time of universal prosperity when 'the rain fell on the night before the Sabbath, so that the grains of wheat were as large as kidneys and the grains of barley as olive-stones and the beans as gold dinars'. But unhappily the Pharisees were not content to use their victory with moderation. They pressed the queen to punish those of her husband's advisers who had been implicated in the crucifixion of the 800 rebels, and with her authorization they put to death several of them. Alexander's old followers cannot have been too well pleased with the general line of the government. At this direct attack they were roused to action, and, under the leadership of Aristobulus, who was naturally discontented with his subordinate position, they threatened to take service under Aretas, the Nabataean king, unless their security was guaranteed by the cession to them of the fortresses of the kingdom. Alexandra after some hesitation agreed to surrender to them all save the three key fortresses of Hyrcania, Alexandrium, and Machaerus. She took the precaution of sending Aristobulus on a distant expedition to Damascus, where he did not distinguish himself.

At this stage Antipater, the founder of the future Herodian dynasty, first appears upon the scene. The ambition of this remarkable man seems from the first to have been to rule the Jewish kingdom. At first sight it seemed a fantastic ambition, for he was not a true Jew, but one of those Idumaeans whom John Hyrcanus had converted to Judaism at the point of the sword only two generations before; and he could scarcely hope, as one of that hated race, to win the

sincere allegiance of the Jewish people. Nevertheless the political situation gave Antipater a chance of insinuating himself into power. Hyrcanus, the legitimate heir, was a feeble character who would readily submit to a dominant adviser, and after his mother's death he would need a powerful supporter; for it was fairly clear that Aristobulus, with the backing of the great military leaders, would not long submit to remain in the second place. He accordingly set about to establish his influence over Hyrcanus and at the same time to fortify his position. He had many substantial assets. He came of one of the ancient and wealthy families of Idumaea. He was probably one of the *hereditary chieftains* of his people. His father had furthermore been appointed royal governor of Idumaea by Alexander Jannaeus and he had probably inherited the position. His wealth was derived not only from the multitude of his flocks and herds, but also from the caravan trade which passed through Idumaea from Petra to south Palestinian ports, and his father had already used his trade connexions to build up an alliance, primarily no doubt commercial, but capable of being turned to political account, with the republic of Ascalon and with the Nabataean king Aretas III. Antipater had further strengthened his connexions with the Nabataean kingdom by marrying a lady of one of the leading families of Petra, Cyprus by name. He had thus a firm base in his native Idumaea and a powerful external ally in Aretas III. Among the Jews he could rely on the support of the Pharisee party in his championship of the legitimate heir against the party of Aristobulus; Hyrcanus of political necessity would be obliged to maintain his mother's policy.

Antipater seems to have been caught unprepared when the critical moment came. In 69 B.C. Alexandra fell ill and was clearly not likely to live long. Aristobulus acted promptly. He slipped away from the court, and going round to the

fortresses held by his father's old supporters secured their allegiance and mustered their forces; he further raised an army of his own from the Galilaeans and the Ituraeans of Lebanon and Trachonitis. The Pharisees were thrown into a panic and turned helplessly to the dying queen for leadership. She could only urge them to act resolutely: they still had the royal army and the three royal treasure-fortresses, and there was no occasion for despair. Soon afterwards she died and Aristobulus promptly marched south. He met Hyrcanus' forces at Jericho. The battle was soon over, most of Hyrcanus' mercenaries deserting to him, and he immediately marched on Jerusalem. Hyrcanus took refuge in the temple enclosure, but after a short siege he came to terms, surrendering the crown and the high-priesthood on condition that his life and his private estates were spared.

This revolution was disastrous to Antipater's hopes. He was known as a supporter of Hyrcanus and could hope for no favour from the new king. Even if he could make his peace with Aristobulus, he could hope for little power, for Aristobulus' temper was violent and headstrong and he was not one to submit to an adviser; he had, moreover, many influential supporters who would not tolerate a rival. Antipater's only hope was a counter-revolution. One of his principal obstacles in staging it was Hyrcanus himself, who was perfectly content with the humble position he had bargained for and had no wish to be involved in politics again. Antipater represented to him that it was improbable that he would be allowed to enjoy this position long: he was, as the legitimate high priest and king, too great a potential danger to Aristobulus to be allowed to survive. For a long while Hyrcanus' simple soul could not be induced to believe ill of his brother, but at length Antipater, by insistently harping on his danger and retailing to him rumours of his impending fate, persuaded him that to save his life he must flee from

Jerusalem and suggested his taking refuge with Aretas at Petra. Aretas had already been sounded and had promised to give him protection. The escape was carried out without a hitch, and Hyrcanus and Antipater arrived at Petra. The next stage of Antipater's plan was now developed. He had, during the past few years, formed a legitimist party at Jerusalem which only needed military support to raise a rebellion. He now set out to persuade Aretas to use his army to reinstate Hyrcanus. The proposal was obviously in Aretas' own interests; if he succeeded he would have as his neighbour in place of the hot-tempered and warlike Aristobulus the feeble Hyrcanus under the guardianship of his old friend Antipater. Aretas, however, was not going to give his support for nothing. He stipulated that the districts conquered from Obodas by Alexander Jannaeus should be retroceded to him, and to this Antipater agreed.

Aretas, with Hyrcanus and Antipater in his train, now (65 B.C.) marched against Aristobulus. In the first battle he defeated him, and Aristobulus' army deserted to their rightful king. Aristobulus fled to Jerusalem, but the people as pre-arranged rose against him and he was forced to retreat, as his brother had done shortly before, into the temple enclosure, where he was besieged by the united forces of the Jews and the Nabataeans. Antipater's triumph seemed certain, when news came which revolutionized the situation. The Roman proconsul Pompey had deposed the last Seleucid king and proclaimed the annexation of Syria, and Scaurus, one of his legates, had actually occupied Damascus.

This news must have descended like a bolt from the blue. The ever-growing might of the Roman republic had, it is true, for more than a century—ever since the crushing defeat of Antiochus III in 189 B.C.—cast its shadow over the eastern Mediterranean. In their struggles to free themselves from Seleucid rule the princes and cities of the Levant had long

been eager to secure Rome's recognition and if possible her alliance; as far back as the days of Judas the Jewish people had sent a delegation to Rome and been enrolled as allies of the Roman people, and the alliance had been renewed under Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus. But on the whole the Romans had taken very little interest in the affairs of the Levant, and the powers had been able to pursue their rival ambitions without interference. Rome had so long been content with the position of informal suzerain that there seemed little reason to expect that she would ever exchange it for that of governor. Now she had, for no apparent reason, decided to annex Syria. The annexation must have been a bitter blow to Antipater. It meant that he could no longer hope to rule an independent state and that he must abandon whatever scheme of warlike aggrandizement he had meditated. He must content himself, if he could secure recognition from his patron, to be a humble and faithful servant of the Roman government, and hope to gain by the favour of his masters what he could not gain by his own action. Antipater, with his usual clear grasp of the facts, seems to have realized the situation at once, and set out from the beginning to win the name of an absolutely dependable and actively loyal ally of Rome, in the hope that the Romans would find it in their interest to strengthen the position of so useful a person.

But at the moment he had first to secure his candidate's recognition as king of the Jews. Aristobulus had naturally at once dispatched a delegation to Scaurus to urge his own claims; his arguments were supported by an offer of 400 talents. Antipater had to offer as much, but he apparently did not think it worth while to offer more; whatever Scaurus decided would be subject to review by Pompey. Scaurus thus approached the problem with an open mind, and, calculating that a siege of Jerusalem would be tedious, but confident that he could defeat the allied Jewish and Nabataean armies



in the field, he decided in favour of Aristobulus. On Pompey's arrival at Damascus the question was, as Antipater had anticipated, reopened. Aristobulus must have exhausted his cash by his previous gifts, for the present he sent to Pompey was a dedication made by his father in the temple, a golden vine, valued at 500 talents; Antipater's gift is not recorded. Envoys next arrived from both parties, one Nicodemus on behalf of Aristobulus, Antipater himself on behalf of Hyrcanus. Nicodemus, no doubt irritated by the failure of Scaurus to deliver the goods, rather injudiciously accused him and another of Pompey's legates, Gabinius, who had also been involved in the transaction—and had got 300 talents out of it—of corruption. He thus made two influential enemies and gave Antipater two influential supporters. Pompey declined to consider the case for the moment—he had much business on hand in the north—but ordered the rival parties to appear at a general durbar he was to hold at Damascus next spring. On this occasion Hyrcanus and Aristobulus both appeared in person. There also appeared a delegation of the Jewish people, which urged that both claimants should be set aside and the ancient sacerdotal aristocracy should be restored. This delegation does not seem for the moment to have received much attention, though it would appear from later events that Gabinius was impressed by its arguments. Hyrcanus claimed that he was as the elder brother the rightful heir, accused Aristobulus of usurpation, and furthermore emphasized his aggressive policy towards his neighbours; this last was a point likely to carry weight with the future governors of Syria. He was supported by an impressive delegation of about a thousand Jews of high standing; this delegation had, it need hardly be said, been organized by Antipater. Aristobulus could only urge that his brother was unfitted for the crown, and he had been obliged to seize it himself to safeguard the interests of the kingdom. He called

his supporters to testify on his behalf, but their insolent and overbearing demeanour made a bad impression on the court.

Pompey had probably made up his mind in favour of Hyrcanus, but he made no public decision, promising to investigate the case further on the spot, when he had settled the affairs of the Nabataean kingdom. He maintained in the meanwhile an attitude of careful impartiality, treating both parties with equal courtesy. His object was apparently to lull Aristobulus, whom he suspected of a desperate intention to resist to the last ditch, into security and induce him to surrender his fortresses; he had no desire to waste his time in a series of wearisome sieges. Aristobulus interpreted Pompey's procrastination as a sign of weakness, and, imagining that he had only to make a show of resistance to win his case, began on his return to Judaea to prepare for war. Pompey promptly marched into Judaea, and Aristobulus was forced to take refuge in the fortress of Alexandrium. Once again Pompey attempted to lure him into the surrender of his fortresses by the promise of an impartial decision, but Aristobulus refused, still hoping to use them as a counter in the bargain to be struck. At last he submitted to the surrender of his other fortresses, but only to concentrate his troops in Jerusalem, the strongest of them all. Pompey now made up his mind that a siege was inevitable, and marched in force on Jerusalem. Aristobulus was at last convinced that Pompey was not bluffing, and surrendered. But his troops refused to yield, and, when the townsmen rose against them, retreated into the temple enclosure. They refused all offers of terms and the siege was begun (63 B.C.). It was a long business, for the temple enclosure was immensely strong, and it would have been longer had not the Romans been able to build their mounds and bring forward their engines without molestation on the Sabbaths; for they soon discovered that, though the

Jews would resist attack on the Sabbath, they had scruples against taking the offensive when the Romans were occupied in the peaceable occupation of engineering. At last one of the towers fell and the Roman troops poured in through the breach. A general slaughter followed, the priests, who had continued performing their duties throughout the siege as though nothing was happening, being cut down as they officiated. Pompey, however, who was a pious man, forbade any plundering of the temple treasures and ordered the temple to be evacuated and purified the day after the capture; he himself gave a great shock to Jewish religious sentiment by inspecting the Holy of Holies, where none but the high priest might enter, but he probably was actuated merely by curiosity and did not realize what an enormity he was committing.

Pompey now made his long-deferred decision. It was naturally in favour of Hyrcanus, who had throughout submitted himself absolutely to the discretion of the Roman government and had made himself useful during the siege by keeping the rest of the country quiet. So far Antipater had won. But Pompey was by now convinced, if he had not made up his mind on the point from the first, that the Jewish kingdom as it existed was a menace to the peace and prosperity of Syria; the Jews were a troublesome and unruly people; they were furthermore backward and superstitious, and their conquests had had a disastrous effect on the civilization of southern Syria. He proceeded, therefore, to prune the kingdom ruthlessly and re-establish the cities which the Maccabee kings had destroyed. On the north-east Hippos, Abila, Pella, Gadara, and Dium, which Alexander had conquered, were reconstituted; Scythopolis, which John Hyrcanus had captured, and Samaria, which he had destroyed, were likewise restored. On the coast all Alexander's conquests—Gabae, Dora, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Azotus, Anthedon, Gaza, and

Raphia—were re-established; even Joppa, the earliest acquisition of the Maccabee dynasty, and Jamnia, another early conquest, which had like Joppa been thoroughly Judaized, were made into independent cities. Finally in Idumaea two cities, Marisa and Adora, were constituted. To Hyrcanus was left the rural and thoroughly Jewish core of the kingdom, Judaea proper, the Peraea, Galilee, and probably Samareitis, within which the city of Samaria formed an independent enclave. These districts Hyrcanus was allowed to rule as high priest; *the title of king and right to wear a diadem* were taken from him. A tribute was imposed which apparently took the form of a percentage of the crops and was collected by a company of Roman tax-farmers.

Antipater's ambitions thus received another blow. He was no longer even to be vizier of an important client kingdom. He was to rule a backward sacerdotal principality in the mountainous interior, without even a port on the Mediterranean. He realized, however, that there was nothing to do but acquiesce and endeavour by ostentatious loyalty to bring his principality back into favour. He soon had an opportunity of making himself useful. Scaurus, who had been left in charge of Syria by Pompey, made in 62 B.C. an expedition against the Nabataeans, whom Pompey had been obliged, owing to the time he had to waste at Jerusalem, to leave unsubdued. Scaurus soon got into difficulties in the desert wastes of Arabia, and his commissariat broke down. Antipater supplied him with corn, and, when Scaurus realized that success was not going to be so easy as he had hoped, went on his behalf to arrange terms with the Nabataean king. He persuaded his old friend Aretas III to promise a suitable gift to Scaurus—300 talents was the figure agreed upon—and himself stood surety for its payment. On this basis Aretas was received into the alliance of the Roman people.

Antipater himself also had need of the help of the Romans

to maintain his own position. Aristobulus and his two sons, Antigonus and Alexander, had been carried off as prisoners by Pompey to figure in his triumph. But Alexander had escaped and he now (57 B.C.) appeared in Judaea, collected a considerable force of supporters, and seized the three fortresses of Alexandrium, Hyrcania, and Machaerus. Gabinius had recently arrived as proconsul. With the co-operation of Antipater he defeated Alexander in the field near Jerusalem, and proceeded to besiege the fortresses; among his legates was a young man named Marcus Antonius, who distinguished himself in this campaign. Alexander soon despaired of success and offered to surrender the fortresses in return for a free pardon. Gabinius, largely through the influence of Aristobulus' wife, accepted these terms, and the three fortresses were surrendered and demolished to prevent their being put to a similar use again. This rebellion seems to have convinced Gabinius that Hyrcanus' rule was unsatisfactory. He accordingly deprived him of his secular powers, leaving him the control of the temple only, and divided his dominion into five circumscriptions, which he put under the rule of councils of local notables; these councils sat at Jerusalem and Jericho in Judaea, Sepphoris in Galilee, and Gadara and Amathus in the Peraea; it is not certain whether Samareitis had a separate council or was subject to Jerusalem. It seems likely that Gabinius had been impressed by the evidence of the Jewish delegation which had pressed for the abolition of the monarchy at the durbar of Damascus, and hoped that if the Jews were given the autonomy for which they had then petitioned they would be less sympathetic to pretenders; he seems also to have been a strong believer in autonomy on principle and did much to rebuild and organize the cities whose reconstitution Pompey had ordered. Gabinius at the same time cancelled the contract of the Roman tax-farming company and apparently entrusted the collection of

the tribute to the new councils. In Roman financial circles there was bitter indignation at the change, and it is probable that there was equal jubilation among the Jews in being freed from the rapacious clutch of the company.

According to Josephus the new constitution caused general satisfaction, but it did not prevent further revolts. The explanation probably is that the upper classes only, whose mouthpiece Josephus is, were content with the situation—and they had good reason to be so, since they had recovered an authority which they had long lost—but that the mass of the people still rallied to their kings against their gentile conquerors. When in 56 B.C. Aristobulus escaped from Rome with his younger son Antigonus, multitudes flocked to his standard. Gabinius, however, had little difficulty in suppressing the revolt now that the royal fortresses no longer offered a refuge to the rebels, and dispatched Aristobulus and Antigonus back to Rome; shortly afterwards Antigonus was allowed to return to Judaea on the solicitation of his mother, who had established a personal ascendancy over Gabinius. Gabinius now turned to a much more profitable enterprise, the reinstatement of the refugee king of Egypt, Ptolemy Auletes; he had been promised 10,000 talents for this task. Antipater, though he cannot have been too well pleased with Gabinius' reorganization of Judaea, which deprived him of all the powers which his master technically lost, co-operated heartily in this enterprise. He supplied Gabinius with provisions and money and men, and, what was even more useful, he used his influence with the garrison of Pelusium, which consisted of Jewish mercenaries, to allow Gabinius to pass. While Gabinius and Antipater were away in Egypt (55 B.C.) Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, made another bid for the Jewish crown, and succeeded in mastering all the country except Gerizim, where the remnants of the Roman garrison took refuge. Gabinius on his return soon crushed the rebellion,

and in the ensuing reorganization of the country Antipater received some reward for his loyalty, though what it was it is difficult to understand. It is stated by Josephus that Gabinus settled the affairs of Jerusalem according to Antipater's wishes, and Antipater is later called by Josephus the superintendent of the Jews. It is probable that Hyrcanus was granted some secular authority over the district ruled by the council of Jerusalem, and that Antipater as his vizier actually exercised these powers.

In 54 B.C. Gabinus was succeeded as proconsul by Crassus. Antipater had the unpleasant task of handing over to him all the temple treasures, which Crassus commandeered for the war against Parthia in which he not long after lost his life. During the absence of the Roman troops another revolt broke out in Galilee, led by a Jewish general named Peitholaus who had deserted to Antigonus with a thousand men in the last rebellion but one and had apparently escaped punishment. This revolt was crushed by Cassius, Crassus' quaestor, who had on his superior commander's death extricated the Roman army from Mesopotamia and taken charge of Syria.

The years that followed were a peculiarly anxious time for Antipater. He steadily maintained his policy of loyal support to the Roman government, but in this period it became increasingly difficult to discover who the Roman government was. When in 49-48 B.C. Caesar invaded Italy and Pompey and the senate fled to Epirus, Antipater, with the other dynasts of the eastern provinces, rallied to Pompey. His was the cause of the legitimate government, his military reputation was high in the East and he was generally expected to win, and finally he was in possession, for the eastern governors were all on his side. It is not recorded that Antipater gave any active aid to Pompey, but Caesar assumed that he was his enemy and in order to embarrass him released Aristobulus, still a prisoner in Rome, and launched him with two legions

into Asia. This move turned out very luckily for Antipater. Aristobulus was poisoned on his way through Asia Minor by the agency of the Pompeians, and Pompey, to prevent any further trouble, sent orders to Scipio, who was in charge of Syria, to execute Alexander. Alexander was duly executed at Antioch. Of the rival line of the Maccabee house there thus remained only Aristobulus' younger son Antigonus, to whom Ptolemy, the tetrarch of the Ituraeans, gave asylum, hoping to find a use for him for the future.

Antipater was soon offered an opportunity of atoning for his ill-judged support of Pompey. Caesar, in his pursuit of Pompey, hurried to Egypt with a quite inadequate force. In Alexandria he found himself involved in a civil war between the children of Ptolemy Auletes. He unwisely tried to take a high line, claiming to settle the dispute on his own authority as consul. He found himself as a result besieged in the palace by immensely superior forces (48 B.C.). In this critical situation he hastily sent out one Mithridates of Pergamum to collect troops in Cilicia and Syria; all depended on the rapidity with which Mithridates could return with reinforcements. This was Antipater's opportunity. Mithridates was held up at Ascalon, fearing to advance farther through the desert. Antipater arrived to support him with three thousand Jews, and used the influence he possessed with the local sheikhs since the days when he was governor of Idumaea to secure Mithridates' safe transit to Egypt. At the siege of Pelusium, which was apparently no longer garrisoned by Jews, he distinguished himself. After the capture of Pelusium he facilitated the next advance by bringing over to Caesar's side the Jews of the Heliopolite and Memphite nomes, producing letters from Hyrcanus, the high priest, urging them to support Caesar. They produced money and supplies for the expedition, and many of them enlisted. In the final battle against the Egyptian forces Antipater's men turned the scale.



Antigonus, hoping to profit by Pompey's defeat by securing the deposition of Hyrcanus, Pompey's nominee, in favour of himself, went to Caesar and represented that his father and brother had died in his cause, done to death by the machinations of Antipater. In view of Antipater's more effective services to Caesar his claim was not entertained. On the contrary privileges and concessions began to be showered on Hyrcanus and Antipater. Hyrcanus was first officially recognized as hereditary high priest. Then his secular powers were restored to him with the title of ethnarch. Antipater was granted the Roman citizenship and personal immunity from taxation. He was furthermore officially recognized as administrator of Judaea; his position no longer depended on that of Hyrcanus. Permission to fortify Jerusalem was granted. Finally Joppa was added to the ethnarchy: Judaea once more had an outlet to the Mediterranean. Antipater also used the influence he had acquired with the Roman government to secure concessions for the Jews of the Dispersion.

Antipater, his present position assured, now began to develop dynastic ambitions. In 47 B.C. he appointed his eldest son Phasael governor of the district of Jerusalem and his second son Herod governor of Galilee. Both proved able rulers; Herod in particular, who was only twenty-five, showed great activity in stamping out the brigandage with which Galilee was infested, capturing a notorious robber chief named Hezekiah, and executing him with all his band. This incident gave a handle to the opposition party at Jerusalem. Antipater's complete success in establishing himself as undisputed ruler of the Jewish state had been unwelcome to many elements among the Jewish people. His promotion of his two elder sons increased their dissatisfaction, since it implied that his dominion was not to be terminated by his death. What elements composed the opposition is difficult to say. There

were many who were still attached to the Hasmonaean house and who still hoped for a restoration of the line of Aristobulus, now represented by Antigonus: the considerable popular support which the successive rebellions of Aristobulus and his sons had, despite their uniform defeat, received, shows how strong this party was. It was a nationalist party, which looked back upon the former glories of the Jewish kingdom, and it was definitely anti-Roman. For this reason, as it became clearer that the Roman government had come to stay, it gradually lost the support of the more responsible elements in the population. It was mainly recruited from among the humbler classes, though it had the support of some among the nobility, like the Peitholaus whom Cassius crushed. The majority of the upper classes, whether they belonged to the secular aristocracy, to the old priestly families of the Sadducee sect, or to the more popular Pharisee party, were probably content to submit to Roman rule, but they strongly resented the domination of Antipater. Their ideal was probably some such form of aristocratic government as they had enjoyed under Gabinius' régime. Hyrcanus they were prepared to tolerate, as a harmless figurehead, but they disliked being ruled by an outsider who was not one of the inner ring of priestly families, not even a true Jew, but one of the hated Idumaeans who had only been converted a generation or two ago.

The execution of Hezekiah gave them a handle. It is probable that Hezekiah was not a mere commercial brigand. Brigandage in Palestine has often had a strong political colour; Judas Maccabaeus had been a brigand during the greater part of his career, and later the brigands were to be leaders of the national revolt against the Roman government. Hezekiah was probably something of a hero with the common people; Barabbas the robber, it may be recalled, two generations later, was a far more popular figure with the Jerusalem mob than

Jesus the prophet. The opposition party thus had popular sentiment on their side in taking up his case. They also had a definite legal point. According to Jewish law no Jew might be put to death except after condemnation by the Sanhedrin, and Herod by his summary methods had flagrantly offended against the Law. The opposition pressed the case with all their powers. They endeavoured to work upon Hyrcanus' feelings. They pointed out with justice that he was allowing himself to become a mere cipher; Antipater and his sons ruled the country absolutely without any regard to him; it was time that he asserted himself. At the same time they roused a popular agitation; the mothers of the executed brigands wailed every day in the temple, lamenting their bereavement and calling on the high priest for judgement upon the slaughterer of their sons. Hyrcanus was at last goaded into action and summoned Herod to answer the charge brought against him before the Sanhedrin. Antipater was alarmed by the popular storm that had been raised. He was determined not to allow his son to be sacrificed to it, but he did not feel strong enough to suppress it with open violence. He resolved to bow before the storm, and recommended Herod to obey the summons and to come with an adequate but not aggressively powerful escort, with the object apparently not so much of intimidating the Sanhedrin as of securing himself from being lynched by the mob, and guaranteeing his safe retreat if he should be condemned. To protect himself against this last contingency Herod induced Sextus Caesar, the governor of Syria, who luckily approved of his energetic measures in Galilee, to write a strongly worded letter to Hyrcanus, ordering him to secure an acquittal under fear of his severest displeasure. Thus armed Herod appeared. The Sanhedrin was at first cowed by his display of force, but it was rallied by a strong-minded Pharisee, named Sameas, who protested vigorously against Herod's insolent attempt to

intimidate the court, and recalled to its members a proper sense of their responsibilities. The Sanhedrin responded to this appeal, and it was plain that they were going to condemn Herod, when Hyrcanus, recalling Sextus Caesar's threats, hastily adjourned the trial. He could no longer hope for an acquittal, and he sent a secret message to Herod, urging him to escape while he could. Herod took his advice, but he was by no means grateful for it. Full of indignation at being chased out of Judaea he went to Sextus Caesar, secured from him the command of the city of Samaria and of the district of Coele Syria, that is, the group of cities reconstituted by Pompey on the eastern frontier of Judaea, and prepared to invade Judaea. He was restrained from this desperate course by his father and brother, who rightly saw that open rebellion of this sort would be certain to bring down punishment from the Roman government in the long run, whatever might be the attitude of the present governor.

Sextus Caesar, in point of fact, disappeared from the scene shortly after this. A member of the Pompeian party, named Caecilius Bassus, raised a mutiny in his army, murdered him and assumed command. The Caesarian commanders moved against Bassus, and Antipater, who was naturally a zealous Caesarian at this date, sent troops to support them under the command of his sons. Bassus retreated to Apamea on the Orontes, where he was besieged. The siege was still in progress when in the spring of 44 B.C. news came that Caesar had been murdered, and presently one of the murderers, Cassius, arrived to take charge of Syria. He gained the allegiance both of the besieged Pompeian force under Bassus and of the investing force, now under the command of Murcus, who had recently been sent out by Caesar to succeed Sextus. At this sudden revolution Antipater became perforce as ardent a republican as he had previously been a Caesarian. The immediate task imposed upon him by Cassius was to raise 700

talents for the prosecution of the war against Antony. It was a large sum to raise at a moment's notice, and its collection would not be popular. Antipater decided to give his political opponents a share in the unpopularity, and divided the collection between his sons and some of his most prominent enemies, who were thus given the unpleasant choice either of extorting the money mercilessly from their compatriots or of incurring the displeasure of Cassius. Herod, who was once again in charge of Galilee, chose the former course, and with the ruthless vigour characteristic of all his actions raised the 100 talents allotted to him with exemplary speed and won the approval of Cassius. The collectors of other districts were less energetic. Cassius dealt mercilessly with these defaulters. The people of four district capitals of Judaea—Gophna, Thamna, Lydda, and Emmaus—were sold as slaves to make up the deficit. Malichus, one of the guilty collectors, he almost killed in his fury; he was only saved by the intercession of Hyrcanus, who gave Cassius 100 talents out of his own pocket.

Malichus was the more embittered against Antipater by these events, and when Cassius had left plotted to overthrow him. He began to raise an army of Jews and Arabs east of Jordan. Meantime he sedulously denied all rumours to this effect and professed complete loyalty to the existing régime; he would not be so foolish, he alleged, even if he had the wish, as to attempt a revolt against the overwhelmingly superior forces of Antipater and his sons. He even effected a solemn reconciliation with Antipater, who seems to have been deceived by it; at any rate, when Murcus, left by Cassius as governor of Syria, wished to execute Malichus as a dangerous character, he interceded for him. His clemency was ill judged. Soon afterwards he was poisoned—it was alleged, probably with truth, by Hyrcanus' butler and at the instigation of Malichus (43 B.C.).

Josephus' verdict on Antipater is that he was distinguished

for his piety and righteousness and by his love of his country. It is difficult to justify this encomium even from the highly laudatory account of his life given by Josephus, which is probably in the main derived from the court historian of Herod the Great, Nicolaus of Damascus. He may well, it is true, have been pious in the technical sense, since his only hope of popular support lay in the Pharisee party. His steadfast loyalty to his master Hyrcanus might have been counted to him for righteousness, but that Hyrcanus was the indispensable figurehead of his own authority. His policy of subservience to Rome was in the best interests of the Jewish people, but it may be questioned whether his motives in adopting it were patriotic; in his earlier career he had not shrunk from plunging the country into civil war and ceding Jewish territory to a foreign power in order to further his own ambitions. His one notable virtue Josephus curiously enough does not notice. He was, according to the standards of the times—the times of the proscriptions at Rome and the butcheries of Mithridates in Asia Minor—a remarkably merciful man; no massacres or assassinations or even judicial murders are recorded of him. It is ironic that this amiable trait should have proved fatal to him. His son was to learn by his father's experience.

The one dominating passion of Antipater's life was ambition, and to its service he devoted very considerable talents. He was evidently an able if not a brilliant general; he possessed great business capacity and had a talent for administration; and he was a master of intrigue. He possessed unlimited store of patience; he always bided his time till the opportunity was ripe and never tried to push his advantage too far. He had above all a clear sense of realities and never attempted the impossible. He seems to have grasped from the first what Aristobulus never saw: that the Romans had come to stay and that it was useless to kick against the pricks. He submitted

quietly to Pompey's settlement, though it halved the kingdom. He even acquiesced in Gabinius' arrangements, though they destroyed the whole basis of his power. He continued steadfastly to support the Roman government, and in the end he gained his reward.

His achievement was extraordinary. Despite his Idumaeian birth he imposed himself on the Jewish people. Though hampered by their continual rebellions he won the confidence and respect of the Roman government. And when his career was cut short by an assassin he had already won back for the Jewish kingdom its political integrity, and, in the vital port of Joppa, a small instalment of the territory it had lost.

## II

### HEROD'S RISE TO POWER

ON Antipater's death Malichus immediately occupied Jerusalem with the troops he had previously raised, and assumed the government on behalf of Hyrcanus. Phasael and Herod considered what was to be done. Herod had been confirmed by Cassius in the post of commander of Samaria and Coele Syria which he had received from Sextus Caesar, and had at his disposal a considerable army. He was for using it to crush Malichus out of hand. Phasael thought this course dangerous: to start a war might be interpreted by the Roman government as rebellion—the brothers had after all no legal rights, since Antipater's position had been purely personal. On his advice a reconciliation was effected with Malichus, who disclaimed all responsibility for Antipater's death. Herod meanwhile proceeded to communicate the facts to Cassius, who was now occupied in besieging a Caesarian commander, Dolabella, in Laodicea in northern Syria. Cassius was no friend of Malichus, who had proved troublesome in the collection of the levy; he had on the contrary formed a high opinion of Herod on the same occasion. He accordingly authorized Herod to procure Malichus' death, and at the same time ordered the Roman commander at Tyre to co-operate. Presently Laodicea fell, and Malichus went up with the other governors, including Hyrcanus and Herod, to offer his congratulations to Cassius and a contribution to the republican war-chest. Herod hoped that Cassius would seize this occasion to arrest Malichus, but he was disappointed. His opportunity, however, came soon after. Malichus had surrendered his son as a hostage, and he was naturally anxious to get him into safety before trying conclusions with Herod. He accordingly went, on his way back to Judaea, to Tyre, where his son



was detained, hoping by judicious gifts to the Roman commander to secure his release. But Herod was too quick for him. He had been dogging his footsteps throughout the journey, and he now sent word to the Roman commander that Malichus was coming and asked him to fulfil Cassius' orders. The party was met outside the city by a military escort. Suddenly, to the horror of Hyrcanus, the soldiers fell on Malichus and killed him. Hyrcanus hastily recovered himself, expressed satisfaction with the execution of Malichus, whom he now declared he had always known to be a traitor, and reappointed Phasael to the government of Jerusalem.

Directly Cassius had moved out of Syria to join Brutus for the campaign against Antony and Octavian troubles broke out again in Judaea. Malichus' brothers, secretly encouraged by Hyrcanus, who apparently was growing tired of the oppressive protection of the sons of Antipater, raised a revolt, and Felix, the commander of the Roman garrison at Jerusalem, was also bribed into supporting the pretenders. Phasael was for a time in serious danger. The rebels, with the connivance of Hyrcanus, gained possession of many important fortresses, including Masada; and Herod, who was at this time in Damascus looking after his independent command, unluckily fell ill and was unable to come to the rescue. Phasael, however, succeeded in shutting Felix into the citadel, and eventually forced him to withdraw from Jerusalem, while Herod, having recovered, came up with his army and suppressed the rebellion in the rest of Judaea. Hardly was this revolt crushed than another broke out. Ptolemy, the prince of the Ituraeans, had, it may be remembered, taken under his protection Aristobulus' younger son Antigonus. He now saw a chance of using him. He bribed the Roman commander of Damascus to support him. He also secured the co-operation of Marion, whom Cassius, the champion of liberty, had installed as tyrant of Tyre. Marion made a diversion by seizing a number of

fortresses in Galilee on the Tyrian frontier. Meanwhile Antigonus, supplied with money and men by Ptolemy, made a dash into Judaea. Herod saw where the real danger lay. He wasted no time on endeavouring to recapture the Galilaean fortresses, but having beaten back Marion's main army he turned on Antigonus and drove him out of the country. He then marched in triumph to Jerusalem, where he was received with acclamations by the people and warm congratulations by Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus was probably genuinely glad to see him; for though he might find Malichus and his friends less overbearing masters than the sons of Antipater, he preferred even their galling protection to the vengeance he might expect from his nephew, embittered as he was by long disappointment and the death of his father and brother. Hyrcanus seems indeed before now to have reconciled himself to his fate, for he had betrothed his granddaughter Mariamme, who was also his brother Aristobulus' granddaughter, to Herod. Herod *was already married to a lady named Doris, of an Idumaeen noble family*, but this was by Jewish law no obstacle to a second marriage. By his second match he clearly strengthened his position enormously. He was admitted as a member of the royal house, and became the natural regent when Hyrcanus, who was growing old, should eventually pass away. The heir apparent was Aristobulus, Mariamme's younger brother, who was only ten years old.

Herod's triumph was abruptly cut short by the news that his patron Cassius had fallen at the battle of Philippi (October, 42 B.C.) and that the East was to have a new master, Marcus Antonius. Feverish diplomatic activity at once began throughout the eastern provinces, every dynast and city hastening to send delegations to obtain the favour of their new master and to excuse themselves for their enforced support of the beaten side, and every opposition party and disappointed pretender hurrying to urge their superior loyalty

to the new régime. Antony had barely crossed over to Bithynia when he was approached by a delegation from the Jewish opposition party, sent to accuse Phasael and Herod of usurping the government of Judaea and to ask for the restoration of his rightful powers to Hyrcanus. They did not even get an audience: for Herod had anticipated them and already gained Antony's ear. He was able to recall his father's sterling services to Caesar and the signal favour which Caesar had accorded him. He could also appeal to the personal friendship which Antony had formed with Antipater fifteen years ago, when Antony and he had fought side by side under the governorship of Gabinius. But his most convincing argument was the offer of a considerable sum of money, of which Antony was in urgent need. Arrived at Ephesus Antony received an official delegation from Hyrcanus and the Jewish people, which presented him with a gold crown and begged that the territory that the Tyrians had taken from them might be restored, and that the Jews sold by Cassius might be freed. Antony graciously acceded to both requests. The Jewish opposition did not despair. When Antony arrived at Antioch another delegation, a hundred strong, again approached him. They were received on this occasion, but in the presence of Hyrcanus and Phasael and Herod. Antony, professing impartiality, gave the decision to Hyrcanus, and Hyrcanus meekly pronounced in favour of the sons of Antipater. Antony now bestowed upon Phasael and Herod the title of tetrarchs, thus granting them the civil authority in their own right. The Jews still persisted and sent another delegation, a thousand strong, to Tyre, to await Antony's arrival there. But Antony was tired of their importunity and ordered the Roman commander in Tyre to get rid of them before he arrived. Herod brought Hyrcanus to urge them to return home quietly, but the delegation stubbornly persisted till troops were brought out against them and dispersed them, inflicting several casual-

ties and taking a number of prisoners whom Antony later executed for sedition.

The newly constituted tetrarchs of Judaea enjoyed their office for a brief period only. Next year (40 B.C.) a foreign invader appeared in Syria, the Parthians. Antigonos, who was still living at the Ituraean court, under the protection of Lysanias, who had just succeeded his father Ptolemy, saw another chance of gaining the throne of Judaea. He offered the Parthian commanders a thousand talents and five hundred women—the latter were to include the families of his opponents—for their aid. The bargain was struck: Antigonos was to invade Judaea independently, and the Parthians were then to step in to adjudicate the quarrel between the rival claimants in his favour. Antigonos appeared in Galilee, rapidly raised an army of supporters, and marched on Jerusalem, which he surprised. Phasaël and Herod hastily rallied their men and drove Antigonos' force into the temple. But their position was extremely precarious. The townsmen rose against them and it was with difficulty that they could hold their own. Moreover, as the feast of Pentecost drew near thousands of Jews flocked to Jerusalem from throughout the country and camped round about it. At this moment, as pre-arranged, Pacorus, the Great King's cupbearer, appeared with a Parthian force and claimed to settle the dispute in the Great King's name. Antigonos urged that the gates should be opened to him, and Phasaël and Herod agreed with some reluctance to admit him with a few followers. Pacorus then suggested that Hyrcanus and the brothers should go to Barzapharnes, the Parthian commander-in-chief, to plead their cause in person. Phasaël agreed, but Herod, suspecting treachery, refused. Pacorus did not wish to arouse suspicion, so he made no fuss about Herod's refusal. He himself escorted Hyrcanus and Phasaël on their journey, leaving ten Parthian nobles with two hundred horse to keep an eye on

Herod. Presently he returned and invited Herod to come out to meet him, alleging that he had with him dispatches from Phasaël, announcing good news. But Herod had already heard rumours that Phasaël and Hyrcanus had been thrown into prison, and he was more inclined to credit this news than the protestations of Pacorus. He determined to make his escape while he could. He had already during the course of the negotiations dispatched most of his money to safe keeping in his native Idumaea. He now under cover of night escaped southward from Jerusalem with his wife, his betrothed Mariamme, her mother Alexandra, his own mother, his youngest brother, and all his household and all his troops—in all about ten thousand men. The watch kept by the Parthians *must have been extraordinarily slack* for this huge caravan to escape unperceived, but Herod succeeded in getting clear of the city. It was an anxious march: it is recorded that Herod was almost driven to suicide by the delay caused by the breakdown of the carriage in which his mother was travelling. It was not accomplished without opposition. About seven miles south of the city he was opposed by a large party of Jews, whom he beat off with difficulty, and he was thereafter harassed by Parthian cavalry raids. But he managed to reach Thressa in Idumaea, where he had arranged to meet his brother Joseph. A council of war was held, and it was resolved to deposit the money and the ladies of the family with a small garrison, amply provided with food, in the impregnable fortress of Masada. The rest of the force were paid off and disbanded, since it was useless to try to keep an army in the field. Joseph then took command of Masada and Herod set out for Petra. His immediate object was to raise a sufficient sum of money to ransom his brother, and he hoped that Malchus, the Nabataean king, with whom he was on friendly terms, might give or at least lend him the 300 talents which he proposed to offer to the Parthians; he took

with him Phasaël's little boy, who was seven years of age, to leave as security for the loan if it was desired. But while he was still on his way to Petra, a messenger reached him from Malchus ordering him to leave the kingdom; the Parthians had forbidden him to receive Herod. He turned westwards, full of fury against the Nabataeans, who, he suspected, were not so much afraid of the Parthians as glad to see him ruined; for he had invested extensively with Nabataean merchants, and they might not be sorry to get rid of their creditor. At Rhinocolura on the Egyptian frontier he learnt that his brother was dead. Herod's earlier information had been correct. *Directly Phasaël and Hyrcanus had left Jerusalem* they found they were virtually prisoners. A pretence of friendship was kept up by the Parthians, but Phasaël learnt from friends of the bargain which Antigonos had struck. He protested to Barzapharnes at his treachery and offered a higher bribe, but was met with protestations of innocence; *Barzapharnes still hoped to secure Herod and wished to prevent any rumours of treachery from reaching him.* In this he was, as has been seen, unsuccessful. When Herod escaped, Hyrcanus and Phasaël were immediately seized, to be handed over to Antigonos. Phasaël anticipated his fate by breaking his head against the wall of his cell. Hyrcanus was duly delivered to Antigonos, who, to prevent his ever becoming high priest again, had his ears cropped—or according to a more lurid account bit his ears off; he was then handed back to the Parthians who carried him off to Mesopotamia.

There is no reason to doubt that Herod's anxiety for his brother's safety was genuine; there was room for strong attachment as well as for savage hatred in his vehement nature. But it cannot be denied that Phasaël's death at this moment was fortunate for Herod. It took out of his path a potential rival. For, loyally as the brothers had stood by one another, it was already clear—his ambitious matrimonial

alliance had shown it—that Herod was determined to be the dominating partner in the family alliance, and it would have been difficult for the elder brother to acquiesce in being pushed aside. It may indeed have been fortunate for Phasael himself to have died heroically at the hands of the public enemy; he was thus saved from a more ignominious fate at his brother's hands.

Now that he could no longer do anything for his brother, Herod concentrated his attention on his own fortunes. He decided that his best chance was to gain the ear of his patron Antony, who was at the moment in Italy. Accordingly he pressed on to Alexandria, rejected an offer of a high command made to him by Cleopatra, and, though it was already autumn, persuaded a captain to put out. After a stormy crossing, in which the ship came near to being wrecked, he reached Rhodes. Here he stayed some months, ostensibly building himself a ship in order to proceed to Rome. It seems unlikely that he could not have chartered a ship if he had really been in a hurry, and it seems probable that he was already in communication with Rome, preparing the ground for his visit. The extreme rapidity with which his business was carried through when eventually he reached Rome confirms this conjecture. He was also probably collecting the very considerable funds he would need to disburse in order to win the ear of Antony, Octavian, and their respective supporters. He was able to spend lavishly not only in Rome but at Rhodes itself, where he created a good impression by contributing to the repair of the city, which had been severely knocked about in the siege by Brutus and Cassius. And as he cannot have carried much cash with him, he must have raised the money on credit, presumably from the wealthy Jewish communities of Asia.

That same winter he sailed in the ship he had built to Brundisium and travelled up to Rome immediately. He

secured an interview with Antony at once and was by him introduced to Octavian. Herod recalled the friendship which had subsisted between his own father and Octavian's adoptive father; Octavian was immediately impressed with Herod's energy and ability. The triumvirs being agreed, a meeting of the senate was at once summoned (? December 40 B.C.). Herod was introduced by two senators who made speeches enlarging upon the consistent loyalty of his father and of himself in the most trying circumstances, and upon the treasonable conduct of his rival Antigonus; the Parthian invasion was in reality a stroke of luck for Herod, for it enabled him to pose, not as a prince *turned out of his dominions* by a rival pretender with the wholehearted support of his subjects, but as a champion of Rome who had lost all in defending his dominions against the public enemy. The ground having been thus prepared Antony rose and stated that, as Herod would have an important part to play in the counter-attack planned against the Parthians, it was essential that his position should be strengthened in every possible way. He accordingly proposed that he should be given the title of king in his own right. The motion was duly carried; Herod was escorted from the house between the two triumvirs, preceded by the consuls and other magistrates, up to the Capitol where sacrifices were offered. That night a banquet was given by Antony to celebrate the first day of Herod's reign. Within a week from his landing Herod had set sail again to conquer his kingdom.

Herod's mission had been more successful than he himself had ever hoped. He had never imagined that the legitimate royal line would be set aside and he himself appointed king, and had intended to ask for the recognition of young Aristobulus, his future brother-in-law, with himself as regent. He may even have been somewhat apprehensive of the effect on Jewish public opinion of his assumption of the sacred royal



title. But the triumvirs could not be expected to appreciate Jewish sentiment on this point. They saw that Antipater's ambiguous position had encouraged constant insurrections and had kept alive a hope in the opposition party that if they agitated strongly enough they might get rid of him. They hoped that if it was made quite plain that Herod had the full support of Rome his opponents would acquiesce. On the whole their calculations were right. At any rate Herod's official appointment as king could not make him more unpopular than he already was, and it enabled him to get rid of the remaining members of the Hasmonaean family without destroying the basis of his own authority.

Herod landed at Ptolemais in the spring of 39 B.C. Ventidius, who had been given the command against the Parthians by Antony, had already cleared them out of Syria, but Antigonus was still in undisturbed possession of Judaea. One of Ventidius' legates, Silo, was indeed supposed to be acting against Antigonus, but his movements were suspiciously languid. Herod's first task was to relieve Masada. Antigonus had been besieging it all the time that Herod had been away, but he had not made any impression on the fortifications. At one time, indeed, there had been a serious water-shortage, and Joseph had resolved to make a dash for Petra with a small party in order to try to persuade Malchus to raise the siege, but a timely rainstorm had filled the cisterns and put new heart into the defence. Herod raised an army of mercenaries in Ptolemais, which was increased by volunteers from Galilee, where he was personally popular. He moved down the coast, effected a junction with Silo, captured Joppa, which barred his way, and turning inland through Idumaea, where he again raised men from among his countrymen, raised the siege of Masada. He now moved up to Jerusalem and encamped outside it. He made proclamations, announcing that he was the lawful king and promising an amnesty for all

past offences against himself. Antigonus made counter-proclamations, asserting that Herod, as a commoner and an Idumaeon at that, had no right to the throne; he offered to abdicate, if his acceptance of Parthian aid made it impossible for the Romans to accept him, but only in favour of a member of the legitimate royal and high-priestly line. This offer was apparently intended to give an excuse to Silo, who, it now began to appear, was in secret league with Antigonus, for his lukewarm attitude. Silo at once began to be obstructive. He encouraged his troops to complain of the shortage of provisions and to demand to be sent to winter quarters in parts of the country which had been less thoroughly devastated. Herod, by vigorous foraging, collected a large supply of provisions, but Silo insisted that his position before Jerusalem was untenable, and the Roman army was scattered for the winter (39-38 B.C.) in billets in the parts of the country which were more or less pacified. Herod occupied himself in *reducing Sepphoris in Galilee and hunting down the guerrilla bands which infested that country*. His brother Joseph was deputed to secure Idumaea. His other brother Pheroras rebuilt the fortress of Alexandrium, which had been dismantled by Gabinius.

The next year (38 B.C.) Silo was recalled by Ventidius to *northern Syria*. Herod continued to clean up the countryside. Galilee was still infested with guerrilla bands, which were extremely hard to deal with as they had what had hitherto been regarded as impregnable strongholds in inaccessible caves in cliff-sides. Herod showed his usual energy and resource and evolved a novel method of attack. He constructed stout wooden boxes which he filled with soldiers and lowered by chains from the cliff-top. The soldiers were armed with long poles with hooks at their ends, and when their enemies appeared at the cave-mouths they hooked them over the edge of the precipice, and when they retreated jumped

from their boxes into the caves and pursued them or smoked them out by setting fire to the fuel which was stored inside. Having thus pacified Galilee Herod went forward into Samareitis, but the general whom he had left in charge of Galilee was defeated and killed in another rebellion and Herod had to return and start again.

By this time the Parthians had been finally beaten out of Syria, and Ventidius, on Antony's orders, sent down two legions under the command of a certain Macheras to assist Herod. Macheras was as useless as Silo had been, and Herod decided that he must interview Antony himself if he was to get effective aid from the Romans. He accordingly divided his forces, and leaving a part with his brother Joseph, with strict orders to remain on the defensive and on no account to quarrel with Macheras, he marched with the rest for Samosata, where Antony was besieging Antiochus, king of Commagene, who had sided with the Parthians. He hoped, by rendering timely assistance to Antony, who had hitherto not been very successful with the siege, to put him in a better humour to help him in his turn. At Antioch he found troops collected for the siege of Samosata who had hitherto not ventured to proceed thither owing to the dangers of the march through the difficult and hostile country of Commagene. Reinforced by Herod's army and under his leadership they now moved on, and after some hard fighting reached Samosata. Antony was delighted with Herod's unsolicited demonstration of loyalty, and when Samosata had fallen ordered that one of his legates, Sosius, should move the entire Roman army to Herod's support.

Herod went ahead with one legion. On his arrival at Antioch he received bad news. His brother had neglected his instructions and attacked Jericho. He had been defeated and killed and his army, which included five cohorts lent by Macheras, destroyed. Galilee had immediately risen.

Macheras held only Samareitis. Herod hurried on, raised 800 Ituraeans on his way through the Lebanon, and invaded Galilee. Here he was reinforced by another legion which had been sent ahead by Sosius, and, having thus gained a decisive superiority in the field, reduced Galilee, relieved Macheras, who was being hard pressed by one of Antigonus' commanders in Samareitis, and gradually beat the enemy back to Jerusalem.

Next spring (37 B.C.)—this was now the third year since he had landed as king at Ptolemais—he moved his troops up to Jerusalem and set in hand the preparations for the siege. Having set matters in train he withdrew to Samaria to wait for Sosius, and meanwhile celebrated his long-deferred marriage with Mariamme. When Sosius arrived the siege began in earnest. Herod and Sosius commanded an army of overwhelming strength. The Roman army comprised 11 legions, 6,000 horse, and a considerable body of Syrian auxiliaries; Herod's own army was according to Josephus well over 30,000 men. But the resistance was desperate. Jewish national and religious fervour had been roused to fever-pitch. Prophecies were current that God would intervene in His might to save His people and that He would not suffer His temple to be desecrated once again by the heathen. A vigorous guerrilla warfare was kept up, so that foraging was dangerous except for strong detachments. Every device was used to hinder the engineering works of the besiegers. The mines were countermined. Sallies were made, and the engines already erected and the timber prepared for building more were burnt. But the besiegers with their enormous manpower could work faster than the besieged could destroy. At last, after six weeks, the outer wall was stormed. Another fortnight passed before the second wall was captured. The lower city and the outer court of the temple were now in the enemies' hands, but the Jews still held the temple itself and

the upper city. They sent a petition to Herod that he would allow beasts to be sent in to the temple, that the sacrifices might not be interrupted. Herod, hoping that this was a sign of weakening, generously consented. But it was not: the resistance continued unabated, and Herod was forced to storm the temple itself and the upper city. The temper of the Roman troops was by now savage. Exacerbated by the stubborn resistance they had met, they slaughtered the population without distinction of age or sex. Herod struggled to hold them in. Above all he must prevent the temple from being plundered; it would never be forgiven him if he allowed the heathen to desecrate the holy place. He succeeded in occupying the temple with his own troops, but the general massacre and looting he was powerless to stop. He appealed to Sosius to exercise his authority: did the Romans, he asked, *intend to make him king of a desert?* Sosius thought his demand unreasonable: this kind of thing was only what was to be expected after a long siege, and the men could not be cheated of their reward. But at length, by promising a liberal payment to every Roman soldier and an even more liberal payment to Sosius himself, Herod succeeded in stopping the destruction. The troops were called in, the promised donatives were paid, and Sosius marched away (July, 37 B.C.).

But for the Jews this was not the end of their troubles. Though he did not want his future subjects to be massacred *en masse*, Herod had no intention of showing mercy to his adversaries; and though he did not want all the movable wealth of Jerusalem to be carried off by the Roman army, he did not intend to preserve it for its owners. A proscription on the Roman model was carried through. The prominent men of Antigonus' party—and there were few of the nobility who had not sided with Antigonus—were executed and their estates were confiscated. The Sanhedrin was practically blotted out. One of the few of its members who were spared

was that Sameas who had so nearly secured Herod's condemnation less than ten years before. He had since decided that Herod was the rod with which God had determined to chastise His people, and that his rule must be accepted, and had urged the unpopular view even during the siege.

Scarcely had Herod conquered his kingdom when a new claimant appeared from an unexpected quarter. Jerusalem was captured in the summer of 37 B.C. In the winter of the same year Cleopatra, summoned to Antioch by Antony, re-established her ascendancy over him, and for the next six years she was to have a dominating voice in the affairs of the East. These six years were to be an anxious time for Herod, for he had the misfortune of standing in the way of one of Cleopatra's most cherished ambitions. The first stage in her programme was to restore the empire of the Ptolemies to its ancient limits, as they had stood in the days of her great forebear Arsinoe Philadelphus, and since Arsinoe's empire had included all southern Syria, Herod was clearly in a precarious situation. Cleopatra seems to have embarked upon her campaign at once. In the winter of 37-36 B.C. she induced Antony to execute Lysanias, the tetrarch of the Ituraeans—ostensibly on the ground that he had three years before sided with the Parthians—and to grant her his principality, which she apparently did not take over directly but leased to one Zenodorus, a member of the Ituraean royal family. She tried hard to persuade Antony to depose Malchus, the Nabataean king, and Herod also, but Antony was stubborn. Malchus was not, perhaps, conspicuously loyal, but it would be a troublesome business to eject him—the deserts of Arabia were, as Scaurus had found to his cost, not easy to conquer; Herod was a loyal supporter, and it would be absurd to depose him when he had just been installed at great trouble and expense and run the risk of another Jewish rebellion. He did, however, grant to Cleopatra certain choice morsels out

of the two kingdoms, Herod's contribution being the district of Jericho, whose palm-groves and balsam-gardens were one of the principal sources of the royal revenue.

In the spring of 36 B.C. Antony marched northwards on his Parthian campaign and Cleopatra returned to Egypt. On her way she stopped at Jerusalem to arrange for the administration of her acquisitions. This she did in a very satisfactory manner. The last thing which Herod wanted was the establishment of an Egyptian administration and an Egyptian army in his kingdom, or in the neighbouring parts of the Nabataean kingdom—Cleopatra's concession from Malchus would seem to have been the districts east of the Dead Sea. He therefore willingly undertook not only to lease the district of Jericho from Cleopatra for the huge rent of 200 talents, but also to stand surety for the 200 talents which Malchus was to pay for his share. This was very satisfactory to Cleopatra. Not only did she get an assured income of 400 talents, but she sowed the seeds of discord between Herod and Malchus; for the latter, she correctly anticipated, would not be very punctual in his payments to a brother king who was powerless to enforce his bond. Herod, it may well be imagined, writhed with impotent rage at having to sign this iniquitous bargain, but he dared not offend Cleopatra, for fear of worse to come, and he was obliged to maintain the appearance of the utmost cordiality, entertaining her lavishly and giving her many gifts on her departure for Egypt. In later life he revenged himself posthumously on her in his memoirs. *He represented that he resolved to defy Antony's wrath and sacrifice himself to his patron's true interests by assassinating the siren who was dragging him to ruin, and that he was only restrained by the urgent solicitations of his privy council. He further alleged that the voluptuous wanton made advances to him, which he, Joseph-like, repulsed; he professed to be uncertain whether she had really succumbed to his manly*

grace or whether she intended, having compromised him, to denounce him to Antony. Nothing is more unlikely than that Herod seriously thought of sacrificing his career for Antony's good, and it seems improbable that Cleopatra would have wasted her charms on a client king of no political importance or have risked arousing Antony's jealousy merely to ruin Herod.

At home also Herod's position was still far from secure. The country was barely subdued, and it seemed unlikely that it would ever submit quietly to his rule as long as there were still members of the Hasmonaean family surviving about whom popular sentiment could rally. There were three male members of the family alive: Antigonus, old Hyrcanus, and the young Aristobulus. Antigonus did not long survive to trouble Herod. He had surrendered to Sosius and had been handed over by him to Antony, who intended to lead him in his triumph. But seeing that rebellion continued to break out among the Jews Antony decided that he could not afford the luxury of keeping him alive, and ordered him to be executed at Antioch. Hyrcanus might have seemed to be harmless. He had, when he had been carried away prisoner by the Parthians, been kindly received by Phraates, the Parthian king, who set him at liberty and provided him with an establishment at Babylon. There was a very large Jewish community in Babylon, dating from the days of the exile, and they were pleased to have so illustrious a person as a former high priest among them, and treated him with almost royal honours. But old Hyrcanus—he was now over seventy—was unhappy in exile; he hankered after his native land, and when he heard that his cruel nephew Antigonus had been deposed and executed and that Herod, the young man whom he had saved from condemnation before the Sanhedrin, was king, he thought it would be safe for him to return. His friends tried to dissuade him: they, more worldly wise, thought it unlikely that Herod would have any very strong feelings of gratitude;



they reminded him that, mutilated as he was, he could not be high priest in Jerusalem; he would have to take a second place, whereas in Babylon he received the highest honours that the Jews could pay him. But the old man was stubborn, *and Herod encouraged him; why he should have desired Hyrcanus' return is somewhat obscure, since he was harmless where he was, but he perhaps thought that he would gain some popularity by taking him under his protection; and he would feel more secure if he had him in his power.* He wrote in flattering terms to Hyrcanus, calling him patron and benefactor and begging to be allowed to make some requital for all the favours he had received from him. He also sent an ambassador to Phraates requesting his release and sending many presents. Hyrcanus returned, and Herod received him with the utmost respect, calling him his father and giving him the first place on all public occasions.

There remained the more difficult problem of Aristobulus. He should by rights have become high priest on the death of Antigonus, but Herod had no intention of leaving the high-priesthood in the hands of the Hasmonaean family to be a focus for popular feeling against himself. He broke with the hereditary principle and appointed a certain Ananel. There could be no strong objection by the pious to his appointment, for he was of good priestly birth, according to Josephus, of the old high-priestly family. From Herod's point of view he was suitable because he was not a member of the Jewish aristocracy, but of the Babylonian community; without local connexions and owing his position entirely to the royal authority he could be trusted to be subservient to it. Unfortunately this appointment raised violent opposition in Herod's own family. Aristobulus' mother Alexandra, who was also Herod's mother-in-law, was deeply chagrined at the insult put upon her son in being passed over, and she called in the aid of Cleopatra to effect her purpose.

Cleopatra was only too pleased to take up Alexandra's cause, and Herod decided that there was nothing for it but to yield with a good grace, and by a timely concession to prevent what he feared might be the outcome of the charges—his own deposition in favour of Aristobulus. He accordingly deposed Ananel—this again brought him into conflict with the pious, who declared that a high priest could not be deposed—and appointed Aristobulus in his stead (? spring, 36 B.C.). He alleged that this had been his intention throughout and he had only put in Ananel as a stopgap because of Aristobulus' youth. He then effected a reconciliation with Alexandra. But he was highly suspicious of her and had her kept in strict seclusion in the palace and set spies to watch her. Alexandra soon realized what was happening and resented it. She once again opened secret negotiations with Cleopatra, and a plot was arranged between them. Two coffins were prepared and Alexandra and her son were to be carried out of the palace in them and to escape to the coast, where Cleopatra was to have a ship waiting ready for them. Unfortunately one of Alexandra's confidential servants, Aesop, mentioned the plan to a certain Sabion, whom as an old friend of Alexandra and an old enemy of Antipater—he had been suspected of being party to his death—he imagined to be in the plot. Sabion was, however, anxious, in view of his past, to put himself in the right with Herod, and gave him information as a result of which Herod was able to catch Alexandra and Aristobulus in the act of escaping. He professed to be deeply pained at their suspicion of him and freely forgave them: he did not dare, in view of Cleopatra's interest in them, to do anything else.

Presently the time came for Aristobulus to perform his high-priestly function at the feast of Tabernacles. He was a very handsome boy—he was now sixteen—and his public appearance created great enthusiasm in the crowds which

had collected for the festival, who too openly compared him with his grandfather of the same name whom Antipater had turned out of the kingdom. Herod decided that there was no time to be lost. After the feast he invited Aristobulus and his mother to a banquet at Jericho. The party was very gay and Herod himself was in a particularly light-hearted mood. Uproarious games were played, and presently, as it was extremely hot, Herod suggested a bathe. The party plunged into the pools of the palace garden, and in the ensuing frolic Aristobulus was accidentally drowned (? autumn, 36 B.C.). Herod professed the deepest grief and gave him a most magnificent funeral. No one ventured to question the official version of the death, but Alexandra was not deceived and resolved to devote her life to revenge.

She accordingly wrote once again to Cleopatra, apprising her of the facts and begging her to take up the case. Antony on his return from Parthia was informed, and presently (35 B.C.) a summons came for Herod to come to Laodicea and defend himself against the charges brought against him. Herod feared that he had gone too far and that his last day had probably come. He left his uncle Joseph—who was also his sister Salome's husband—as regent in his absence, and he gave him secret orders to kill Mariamme if he should not return—for he was passionately jealous and could not endure the thought that another man might possess her. Herod's subjects also hoped that he would never return. Rumours arose during his absence that he had been executed by Antony, and when a sister of Antigonus seized the fortress of Hyrcania the whole country rose in rebellion. Joseph despaired of the situation, and was on the point of taking refuge with the royal family in the camp of the Roman legion stationed at Jerusalem when good news arrived.

Herod had under-estimated his value to Antony. After the disastrous failure of his Parthian campaign he was in no

mood to sacrifice a faithful supporter for his moral delinquencies, and, suspecting that Herod's case was hopeless, he refused to hear it: the internal affairs of client kingdoms, he declared roundly, were no affair of his. Cleopatra, whom he could still less afford to antagonize, he consoled with a piece of Roman territory, Coele Syria.

On his return Herod had not much difficulty in suppressing the rebellion of his subjects. But in his absence trouble had been brewing in his own family. Herod's marriage with Mariamme was not a happy one. He was passionately in love with her—she was by all accounts extremely beautiful—but she did not return his love. She seems to have been cold by temperament; she was proud of her noble birth and despised her husband as an upstart; she was, moreover, now embittered by the death of her brother, and her mother Alexandra, bent on revenge, did her best to keep the wound raw. Fully conscious of her power over her husband, she exploited it mercilessly. There were violent quarrels, but Herod was too deeply in love to keep up his anger long and a reconciliation always followed. Unwisely Mariamme, relying on her husband's complete devotion to her, made no attempt to conciliate his family, and in particular treated his sister Salome with unconcealed disdain. *She thus made of this resolute and unscrupulous woman an implacable enemy.*

During Herod's absence at Laodicea Mariamme saw much of Joseph, who had been left regent of the kingdom. Joseph apparently made use of his opportunity to endeavour to appease the discord between his nephew and his wife, insisting earnestly on the depth of his devotion to her. When his pleas were met with ironic smiles, he revealed what seemed to him the supreme proof of Herod's love, the secret orders given to himself to kill Mariamme should he not return. Mariamme naturally did not take his view of the matter, and she stored up the information for use in future quarrels.

On Herod's return Salome accused Mariamme of having been unfaithful to him with Joseph during his absence. The charge is incredible and Salome can hardly have believed it herself. She was, perhaps, jealous of the evident interest which Joseph took in the beautiful Mariamme. She may have thought that Joseph was disloyal to her brother and had joined the Hasmonaean camp. But whatever she believed she was determined by hook or by crook to ruin Mariamme, and she was not one to allow the life of her elderly husband to stand in the way. Incredible though the charge seems Herod at first believed it and accused Mariamme of infidelity. He was at length convinced by her steadfast denials, but unluckily, just as the reconciliation was complete, Mariamme thought it the opportune moment to reproach Herod with his orders to kill her. Herod was at once filled with suspicion again; none but Joseph knew of the order, and he had been strictly charged to keep it secret; would he have revealed *it unless his relations with Mariamme had been very intimate?* He executed Joseph on suspicion without giving him a chance to clear himself, but Mariamme he forgave. Salome had been beaten on the first round.

At about this time another intrigue of Cleopatra came to light. Herod had appointed as governor of Idumaea and Gaza a certain Costobar. He was one of the Idumaeans nobility and apparently of greater rank in his native country than Herod himself; his ancestors had been hereditary high priests of the Idumaeans national god Coze in the days before the conversion. He conceived the idea of reviving the national state of Idumaea and apparently reverting to paganism, and he naturally turned to Cleopatra to second his plans. Cleopatra welcomed the notion of detaching Idumaea from Herod's kingdom and placing it under a prince subservient to herself, and pressed Costobar's claims on Antony. Antony, however, again upheld Herod's interests, and the scheme fell

through. Herod hastily recalled Costobar, but he did not dare to execute one who was Cleopatra's protégé. Adopting the only possible policy in the circumstances, he endeavoured to bind him as closely as possible to his own interests, marrying him to his recently widowed sister Salome. Cleopatra does not seem to have been completely defeated in the struggle. Gaza and also Joppa no longer belonged to Herod's kingdom in 30 B.C., and he probably lost them now. They may have been included in the grant by Antony to Cleopatra, which is recorded, of all cities on the coast of Syria from the Egyptian frontier to the river Eleutherus, the ancient Ptolemaic boundary, except Tyre and Sidon, which, being free allies of the Roman people, it was not in Antony's power to grant.

Cleopatra's hostility to Herod ultimately proved useful to him. When the preparations for the final campaign against Octavian began, Herod offered his support. But Cleopatra would not have him in the army. It may be that she had begun to fear his influence with Antony. It was daily becoming plainer to all Antony's supporters that in the coming struggle Cleopatra was a fatal incubus on his cause. The name of the Egyptian queen was being used by Octavian to rally Roman sentiment against Antony; it enabled him to pose as the champion of Rome against the Orient and not as mere rival claimant to the supremacy of the Roman world. Herod later boasted that he had advised Antony to kill Cleopatra and annex Egypt. It may be doubted whether he actually dared to give this sound but unpalatable advice, but Cleopatra knew that her position was dangerous, and she was taking no unnecessary risks.

Herod thus took no part in the campaign of Actium (September, 31 B.C.). His offer of money and supplies was accepted, but he was ordered to subdue Malchus, who had been proving refractory about paying the rent he owed to Herod on Cleopatra's account. Herod's operations were on

the whole successful, though he was hampered by Athenion, Cleopatra's governor in Coele Syria, who had received orders not to allow either side to gain a decisive success over the other. He was still engaged in the war when the news of Actium came. He brought it to a successful conclusion, and prepared to face the ordeal of justifying himself to Octavian. But before he started he fortified his position by ridding himself of his last possible rival, old Hyrcanus. It was difficult to find any genuine accusation against the old man, who had accepted his position with quiet contentment, and Herod was reduced to forging a treasonable correspondence between him and Malchus; a certain colour was lent to the accusation by the fact that Hyrcanus had been in friendly communication with Malchus and had recently received some presents from him. The correspondence was produced before the privy council and Hyrcanus was condemned and executed.

Though he had thus eliminated the last male member of the Hasmonaean dynasty, Herod was nervous. He was by no means sure of what reception he would get, and he feared another rebellion during his absence. He left his mother and sister and his children in the fortress of Masada in the keeping of his youngest and only surviving brother Pheroras. *Mariamme and her mother he left in another fortress, Alexandrium, under the care of his finance minister Joseph and another trusted adherent, Sohaemus, an Ituraean noble who had taken service under him.* It is significant of the strained relations between his wife's family and his own that they had to be separated. It is even more significant of Herod's distrust of *Mariamme and her mother* that he left his children by *Mariamme* not with her but with his own relatives; if *Alexandra* and her daughter should raise a rebellion against him they would not be able to hold his heirs as hostages.

Thus prepared he journeyed to Rhodes to interview Octavian. He took what seemed to be a bold but was in reality

a judicious line. He made no attempt to excuse his support of Antony, openly declaring that but for Cleopatra's jealousy he would have fought at Actium, and even asserting that he had only now abandoned his cause because he was still enslaved by the Egyptian sorceress. He had been a loyal friend to Antony, and if Octavian gave him the chance he would prove himself a loyal friend to him. This line of defence was calculated to please Octavian, for it accorded with the official version of the civil war, in which Cleopatra was the real enemy, and Octavian accepted it graciously. He knew that Herod was a useful man. He knew, too, that in substance his speech was perfectly sincere: Herod would always be the loyal supporter of whoever was in power; he had in fact already demonstrated his new-found loyalty to Octavian by assisting the governor of Syria in seizing a body of gladiators whom Antony had as a last desperate resource summoned to Egypt from Cyzicus. Octavian confirmed him on the throne, as in fact he confirmed nearly all Antony's client kings, and Herod returned to his kingdom, where he made ready to receive his new patron on his march to Egypt. He entertained Octavian royally at Ptolemais, supplied his army with provisions, presented him with 800 talents, and organized a supply of water on the desert route to Egypt. On Cleopatra's and Antony's death (30 B.C.) he went to Egypt to congratulate Octavian, who presented him with Cleopatra's bodyguard of 400 Galatians. In the general reorganization of the East which followed, Herod received substantial gains. He received back the districts which Antony had given to Cleopatra and more also. On the coast not only Gaza and Joppa, which had probably been included in the original grant, but Strato's Tower and Anthedon were added to his kingdom. Inland he gained the city of Samaria, and Gadara and Hippos on the east shore of the sea of Galilee.

Herod had thus come through the crisis with flying colours.



He had not only preserved his kingdom, he had enlarged it. But his frequent absences from home during this period had brought his domestic troubles to a head. He had, undeterred by his previous experience, given the same order to Sohaemus that he had given to Joseph, and Mariamme, suspecting that this was the case, used all her arts to win Sohaemus' confidence and eventually cajoled him into admitting it. Incensed that her previous protests had been neglected, she was very cold to Herod when he returned from his first visit to Octavian, full of joy and expecting to be received with warm congratulations. Herod was puzzled; he half-believed Salome's insinuations that she was plotting against him, but he could not bring himself to take any severe measures against her. This state of affairs lasted for about a year. The tempers of both were becoming more and more exacerbated; at length one day there was a violent quarrel in which she openly accused him of the murder of her brother and grandfather. Salome had been preparing for this opportunity. She had instructed Herod's cupbearer when a violent quarrel occurred to go to Herod and to tell him that Mariamme had bribed him to administer a love-potion to him, but that he had felt doubtful about the potion, not knowing what the ingredients were, and had decided that the safest course was to put the case before Herod. Herod immediately put the construction that Salome had intended him to put on this information, and ordered Mariamme's confidential eunuch to be arrested and tortured. He could not be induced to say anything about the potion—of which he in fact knew nothing—but he did let out the fact that Mariamme's hatred of Herod arose out of something that she had learnt from Sohaemus. Herod at once realized that Sohaemus had betrayed his trust, and jumped to the conclusion that he was Mariamme's lover. Sohaemus was summarily executed. Mariamme was formally tried, but before Herod's privy

council, with Herod in his present mood, the result was a foregone conclusion. At the last even her own mother, in terror for her own life, deserted her, rising with pretended indignation at the trial, disclaiming all complicity in the plot and violently reproaching her daughter for having so basely requited the generosity of her husband. Herod even now could not reconcile himself to her death, and wished to imprison her in a fortress for life. But Salome used all her influence to secure her execution; if she lived, she urged, she would always be a centre of disaffection. And at last Herod was overborne and signed her death-warrant (29 B.C.).

No sooner was she dead than Herod was filled with remorse. He could not get her image out of his mind. He tried to distract his thoughts with festivities, but to no avail. He wearied himself with hunting, but he still could not forget her. He refused at times to believe that she was dead, ordering her servants to call her to him. At length he fell into a serious illness, and his doctors, unable to cope with so mysterious a complaint as a nervous break-down, despaired of his life. While he lay ill at Samaria, Alexandra made one last bid for power. She tried to persuade the commanders of the two fortresses of Jerusalem—the Antonia that dominated the temple, and the Upper Palace that controlled the city—to deliver them to her as the natural regent of the kingdom now that Herod was incapacitated. But the two commanders were loyal to Herod and reported Alexandra's intrigues to him. This assault on his power at last roused him from his lethargy. He gave orders for Alexandra's execution and resumed control of the government.

### III

#### HEROD THE GREAT

THE Roman civil wars were at last over. Augustus had imposed upon the empire that peace which it so sorely needed, and the empire, weary of war, was enthusiastically loyal to its saviour. Peace and tranquillity were now assured, and Herod, secure in the favour of the master of the Roman world, had no longer hanging over him the fear that at any moment a political revolution in which he had no concern might bring his life's work to nothing. On a smaller scale the same weariness of war seems to have brought some degree of tranquillity to his own kingdom. The fire of rebellion had for the moment burnt itself out. Revolt after revolt had been crushed; the last members of the old royal line had one by one been killed off; there was no one left to fight for, and Herod and the Romans had proved invincible. For the time at least the Jewish people were weary of the struggle and sank into a sullen acquiescence in the rule of the hated usurper and his gentile patrons—till the Day of the Lord should come. In his own family, too, the festering sore of the feud between his Idumaeans kinsmen and his wife and her Hasmonaeans relatives had at last come to a head and burst. After the first agony of loss there can be little doubt that Herod was a happier man, freed from his torturing jealousy of Mariamme, and with her death and the death of her scheming mother some degree of tranquillity reigned in his family, until, as he grew old and his children came to manhood, the tragedy of Mariamme was re-enacted in the persons of her sons.

Herod's official status in the Roman empire was that of 'friend and ally of the Roman people'. The last word must not be taken too literally, for in the division of powers between the senate and people on the one hand and the princeps on

the other, kings and dynasts were, according to the contemporary evidence of Strabo, expressly reserved to the latter. In these circumstances the personal relations between the king and the emperor were naturally of great importance. Herod seems to have been on very cordial terms with Augustus till the last few years of his reign, though they can hardly have been so intimate as Josephus—here clearly reproducing Nicolaus of Damascus, Herod's court historian—would have us believe. In fact Herod only met Augustus three times after 30 B.C.: once in 20 B.C. when Augustus visited Syria, again two or three years later when Herod went to Rome to fetch back his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, who had been receiving their education at the capital, and finally in 12 B.C.; this visit, which will be related in the next chapter, was not a happy one, and marks the beginning of Herod's fall from favour. Agrippa, Augustus' right-hand man and his viceroy in the eastern provinces between 23 and 13 B.C., Herod had more opportunity of meeting. He visited him at Mitylene in the winter of 22-21 B.C., and seven years later Agrippa returned the visit. Herod entertained him lavishly and showed him with pride round the cities and fortresses which he had built or was building, ending up with the Temple—then in process of re-erection—where Agrippa graciously offered a hecatomb to the Jewish god and feasted the populace. Next year Herod in his turn again visited Agrippa, who was at Sinope preparing an expedition against the Bosporan kingdom of the Crimea, and accompanied him on his subsequent tour through Asia Minor. Unfortunately Agrippa died only two years later (12 B.C.) and thus for the latter years of his reign Herod had no influential friend at court.

It would appear that Herod maintained a permanent diplomatic agent at the Roman court. The emperor does not seem to have had a resident at Jerusalem, though in the Nabataean kingdom his interests were represented by one of his slaves,

who apparently resided permanently. Herod's relations with the local Roman authorities are rather obscure. Syria was, under the new division of the empire, one of the provinces granted to the emperor and accordingly governed by a legate appointed by him; in view of the great importance of the province this legate was a consular of high standing. Beside the legate stood a procurator, who was in charge of the finance department; the procurator was of inferior status to the legate, being of the equestrian rank—drawn, that is, from the Italian middle class and not like the legate from the senatorial aristocracy—but was not subordinate to him, being immediately responsible to the emperor. Herod does not seem to have been under the authority of these officers, but directly subordinate to the emperor. He was, however, inevitably brought into frequent contact with them, and on occasion preferred to submit his complaints to them rather than incur the expense and delay of a special mission to Rome. He himself seems to have had some official authority in the province. Josephus makes the rather extraordinary statement that Herod was in 20 B.C. made procurator of Syria; the phrase is probably inexact and is to be explained by what follows, that Augustus ordered that nothing should be done without his approbation. Herod, that is, was appointed financial adviser to the procurator of Syria. The appointment is a strong testimony to the high opinion which Augustus during his visit to Syria had formed both of his loyalty and of his business capacity.

The most prominent duty of a client king during the troubled years which preceded the establishment of the principate had been to provide troops, supplies, and above all money to his suzerain. In the settled conditions of the principate the demands of the central government became much less exacting. Whether Herod continued to pay a regular tribute is uncertain, but a fixed sum had been stipulated in

his original appointment as king, and it seems on the whole unlikely that Augustus would have forgone this perfectly legitimate claim. On the other hand, sporadic forced contributions ceased, though naturally Herod found it politic to make handsome gifts to the emperor on occasion. Provision of troops remained a legal obligation, but it was rarely enforced. Herod is in fact known to have given military support to the empire on two occasions only, and on the second his action was apparently spontaneous. In 25 B.C. he contributed 500 picked men from his bodyguard to the expedition led by Aelius Gallus, prefect of Egypt, against Arabia Felix. The expedition was a disastrous failure, but it reflected no discredit on Herod, who took no personal part in it; the responsibility rested largely with Syllaeus, the all-powerful vizier of the Nabataean king. When Herod visited Agrippa in 14 B.C. he took with him his newly created fleet, of which he was extremely proud, to assist in his proposed expedition against the Bosporan kingdom. He joined forces with Agrippa at Sinope on the south coast of the Black Sea, but he did not have to fight, for the Bosporans submitted without a blow before the Roman display of strength, to which Herod had made his contribution.

Under the principate the duties of a client king were not spectacular. He was expected to keep the peace with his neighbours and refrain from any aggressive action; Augustus was very firm on this point and visited with the severest punishment any tendency on the part of his kings to take the law into their own hands. Herod observed this rule loyally, with one doubtful exception, which will be recounted in the next chapter, despite much provocation from the neighbouring Nabataean kingdom. A more positive duty of client kings was to maintain order within their kingdoms; in fact, as Strabo explains, this was the principal reason for their existence. The rule of a native king was preferred to that of the

Roman governor in districts where the population was for one reason or another peculiarly intractable; with his knowledge of the idiosyncrasies of his subjects he would be far better qualified to conciliate them than an outsider; he was, moreover, permanent and could gain more experience than a governor who changed every few years; and, ruling a small area, he was always on the spot with his troops, ready to nip any incipient disturbance in the bud. The Jews were obviously an ideal case for a client kingdom. They were disaffected to the Roman government; they were turbulent and much given to brigandage; and they had religious susceptibilities which no layman could be expected to understand and which he would be bound to offend however good his intentions. Herod was, as far as the Romans could see, the ideal man to keep them in order, since he was of unquestionable loyalty, an efficient and ruthless administrator, and, seeing that he was a Jew by religion, presumably capable of managing the religious prejudices of his people.

Client kings had another important though less clearly defined duty. They were not envisaged as a permanent part of the machinery of the empire. Their rule was intended to be a preparatory stage to the full incorporation of their districts into the provincial system. In this connexion it may be noted that their mandate was purely personal, and that on the demise of a king his kingdom lapsed to the Roman people, with which—or rather, in practice, with the emperor—it rested either to annex it or to appoint a successor, who was not necessarily the heir of the last king. Augustus was a stickler on this point also, and reprimanded severely kings who ventured to assume the crown without his authorization; Herod was peculiarly privileged in that he was granted in 22 B.C. the right to appoint his successors, a right which was subsequently, as will be related later, withdrawn. And not only were client kings impermanent but they were expected

to hasten their eventual supersession by civilizing their kingdoms. A good king habituated his subjects to orderly obedience, imbued them with the standard culture of the empire, and trained them to the practice of local self-government. When he had done this, his task was finished, and his kingdom fell naturally into the common mould of provincial government.

As a result of Octavian's donations in 30 B.C. Herod now ruled a kingdom not very much inferior in extent to that of the Hasmonaean dynasty at the height of its power under Alexander Jannaeus. In addition to the ethnarchy of Hyrcanus, Galilee, Samareitis, Judaea, and Peraea, he held a considerable part of the coast. Of those cities shorn from the Jewish kingdom by Pompey Gabae, Strato's Tower, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Anthedon, and Gaza had been restored to it. Ascalon still maintained its position as a free city. Dora and Raphia belonged to the province of Syria. Inland Samaria, which had long been an enclave in the district of Samareitis, was again a part of the kingdom. In the south Idumaea, which Pompey had organized as two cities, was reunited to the kingdom. On the north-east the recovery had not been so complete. Gadara and Hippos on the south-east of the Lake of Galilee had been restored, but four of the cities which the Hasmonaean kings had conquered, Abila and Dium and Scythopolis and Pella, still belonged, and always continued to belong, to the province of Syria. Abila and Dium, on the fringe of the kingdom, were not greatly to be regretted. But it is to modern ideas somewhat curious that Scythopolis and Pella, whose combined territories formed a wedge thrust between Samareitis and Peraea on the south and Galilee and the territory of Gadara on the north, should have been withheld from Herod. But it was not considered necessary in antiquity that a kingdom should form a continuous block of territory.



On the north-east Herod was soon amply compensated, in extent of territory if not in financial value. The neighbour of the Jewish kingdom was in this quarter the Ituraean tetrarchy. Ptolemy the son of Mennaëus had, it will be remembered, been succeeded on the eve of the Parthian invasion by his son Lysanias. He had been executed by Antony for complicity in that invasion and the tetrarchy granted to Cleopatra, who had not administered it directly but, following the same policy that she adopted with the lands granted to her out of Herod's and Malchus' kingdoms, had leased it to one Zenodorus, probably a member of the princely family. After Actium Cleopatra's rights had naturally lapsed and Zenodorus had been recognized by Octavian as high priest and tetrarch in his own right. He proved a very unsatisfactory ruler. The Ituraeans had always lived by brigandage and their chiefs had drawn a percentage of the profits. Zenodorus did not realize that times had changed, and maintained the old traditions of the tetrarchy. The Damascenes, whose trade suffered severely from Ituraean raids, made complaints to the successive governors of Syria. At length in 22 B.C. their pleas received consideration and instructions were given to Varro, the then legate, to take measures against the brigands. Zenodorus' realm was at the same time drastically curtailed. He was allowed to keep only a district east of the upper Jordan, Paneas where it rises, Ulatha around Lake Semachonitis, and Gaulanitis, north-east of the Sea of Galilee. What was done with the rest of the principality for the moment is not known, but when a few years later a large colony of Roman veterans was planted by Agrippa in Berytus the northern half of the Massyas valley, including Heliopolis, the sacred city of the Ituraeans, was incorporated in the territory of the colony. Considerable areas of Ituraean land seem also to have been added to the territories of Sidon and Damascus, which thereby became

contiguous, and Tyre probably gained the territory which brought its eastern frontier up to the upper Jordan.

The south half of the Massyas, including Chalcis, the capital of the tetrarchy, was later a small principality. The country east of the Lebanon later formed another principality, known from its capital town as Abilene—its tetrarch Lysanias, to judge by his name a member of the princely line of the Ituraeans, is mentioned by St. Luke as reigning at the time when our Lord began his ministry.

There remained the two very troublesome districts of Auranitis and Trachonitis, which were the principal strongholds of the brigands who troubled the Damascenes. Auranitis, the great pile of volcanic mountains which still bears the name of Jebel Hauran, has always been a safe refuge for rebels who have defied the established government of Syria: it is to-day the principal stronghold of the Druz, whence its alternative name, Jebel Druz. Trachonitis, the modern Lejja, is a very different country but equally inaccessible. It is a vast plain of lava, which once flowed from the now extinct volcanoes of Jebel Hauran. As the great sheet of lava cooled and contracted, it crumpled and cracked into a tortuous maze of ridges and gullies. It thus forms an ideal home for those who wish to evade the pursuit of the law. It is penetrated only by winding paths, whose twists and turns afford ample opportunities for ambushes to those who know the country, and completely baffle an invading force, who must march blind—for there are no commanding heights from which a general view can be obtained. It was useless to entrust districts such as these to the administration of a city. It would be a heavy burden on the governor of Syria, who was occupied with more important affairs, to make him directly responsible for policing them. They were obviously the type of district which should be entrusted to a client prince, but the Ituraean princes had proved unreliable. Augustus determined to let

Herod test his mettle on them: he had had ample experience with brigands in his own country and had shown great resource in dealing with them.

Auranitis and Trachonitis, with the rich plain of Batanaea, which lay to the west of Trachonitis, as some compensation for the other two difficult and unprofitable districts, were granted to Herod. The transfer caused some difficulties. Zenodorus, when he saw that his days were numbered, had hastened to realize his assets while he could and had succeeded in selling Auranitis for fifty talents to the Nabataean king, who wished to secure his caravan route to Damascus. Augustus refused to recognize the transaction and Herod actually obtained possession, but a troublesome guerrilla war followed and Herod's relations with the Nabataean kingdom, already none too good, were embittered. However, despite these difficulties, Herod succeeded by ruthless punitive expeditions in pacifying the country, for the time at least. He was soon rewarded. Only two years later, in 20 B.C., Zenodorus died, and Augustus, who was at the time in Syria, granted *his dominions to Herod*. Herod's first acquisition was thus joined up with his own territory of Galilee.

The Roman government entrusted all these territories to Herod primarily because they were difficult to rule and Herod's basic duty was to keep them in order. He had, largely through no fault of his own, little popular support on which to base his authority. The Greek cities were perhaps the least hostile element; at any rate they gave the least positive trouble. But even they objected in principle to being ruled by a king, and probably felt it an additional humiliation that their king was a Jew. After Herod's death they unanimously petitioned to be annexed to the province of Syria, and even during his lifetime one, Gadara, sent a deputation to Agrippa and then, on the occasion of his visit to Syria, to Augustus himself, asking to be withdrawn from Herod's jurisdiction.

The rights of the case are difficult to determine. The complaints which the Gadarenes raised, that Herod had confiscated the property of their citizens and desecrated their temples, sound rather fantastic, and their genuineness is further put in doubt by the fact that the whole agitation was fomented by Zenodorus, who had a personal grudge against Herod. It is also in Herod's favour that Agrippa and Augustus declined to take up the case, though this may merely indicate that they were anxious not to weaken his position. The leaders of the opposition party, seeing that their petition was hopeless, committed suicide, which would seem to indicate that whatever had been their past experience they now had little hope of mercy from the king. Whatever the rights of the case it is clear that the relations between Herod and his Greek cities were not cordial. Herod's other pagan subjects, the unruly tribesmen of the north-eastern districts, had naturally no love for his rule, since his rigorous suppression of brigandage took from them their normal means of livelihood and forced them to subsist on the meagre profits of agriculture. The Trachonites in particular were in the latter part of his reign to give him much trouble, as will be related more fully in the next chapter.

If his pagan subjects hated Herod because he was a Jew, the Jews, who formed the bulk of the population, hated him because he was not. To them he was the Idumaeon, a gentile by blood and, despite his official adherence to the national faith, a gentile at heart. He was further a usurper who had ousted their legitimate royal line. The mass of the people had been loyal to the Hasmonaeon line, as is amply shown by the wide popular support received by Aristobulus and his sons in their repeated and uniformly unsuccessful attempts to seize the throne, and above all by the last desperate defence of Jerusalem. Now that the direct male line of the Hasmonaeon house was extinct, revolts perforce ceased for lack of a pretender, but this implies no love for the man who had

hounded to death the last survivors of the royal line. Popular sentiment now tended to centre in the two sons of Mariamme who were Hasmonaeans through their mother at least. Herod seems to have hoped to utilize this sentiment in his own favour. He gave his sons names which recalled the glories of the Maccabee house, Alexander and Aristobulus, and he ostentatiously paraded them as his heirs. But it is doubtful if he gained the reflected popularity for which he hoped. The Jewish people regarded him rather as the murderer of the young princes' mother than as their father, and hoped yet more ardently for the day when he would make way for them.

Herod was in the eyes of the people not merely a usurper. He was also the instrument of their hated gentile overlords, the Romans. Looking back with regret to the days when the people of God had thrown off the bonds of their oppressors and smitten the gentile hip and thigh, the Jews bitterly resented their renewed captivity and bitterly hated the man who had in their eyes betrayed them. For the moment Rome had proved too strong for them and they sullenly submitted to her dominion, but they never acquiesced in it. They still had hope; the spectacular if fleeting success of the Parthian invasion had created a great impression, and the Parthians, as the champions of Antigonus, were allotted in the popular imagination the role of the Persians of old, the nation raised up by God to end their captivity. Side by side with the hopes of a Maccabee restoration, and taking a more and more prominent place in the popular imagination as these hopes faded, floated visions of the coming of an ideal king of the house of David who should overthrow the Roman empire and establish the kingdom of God.

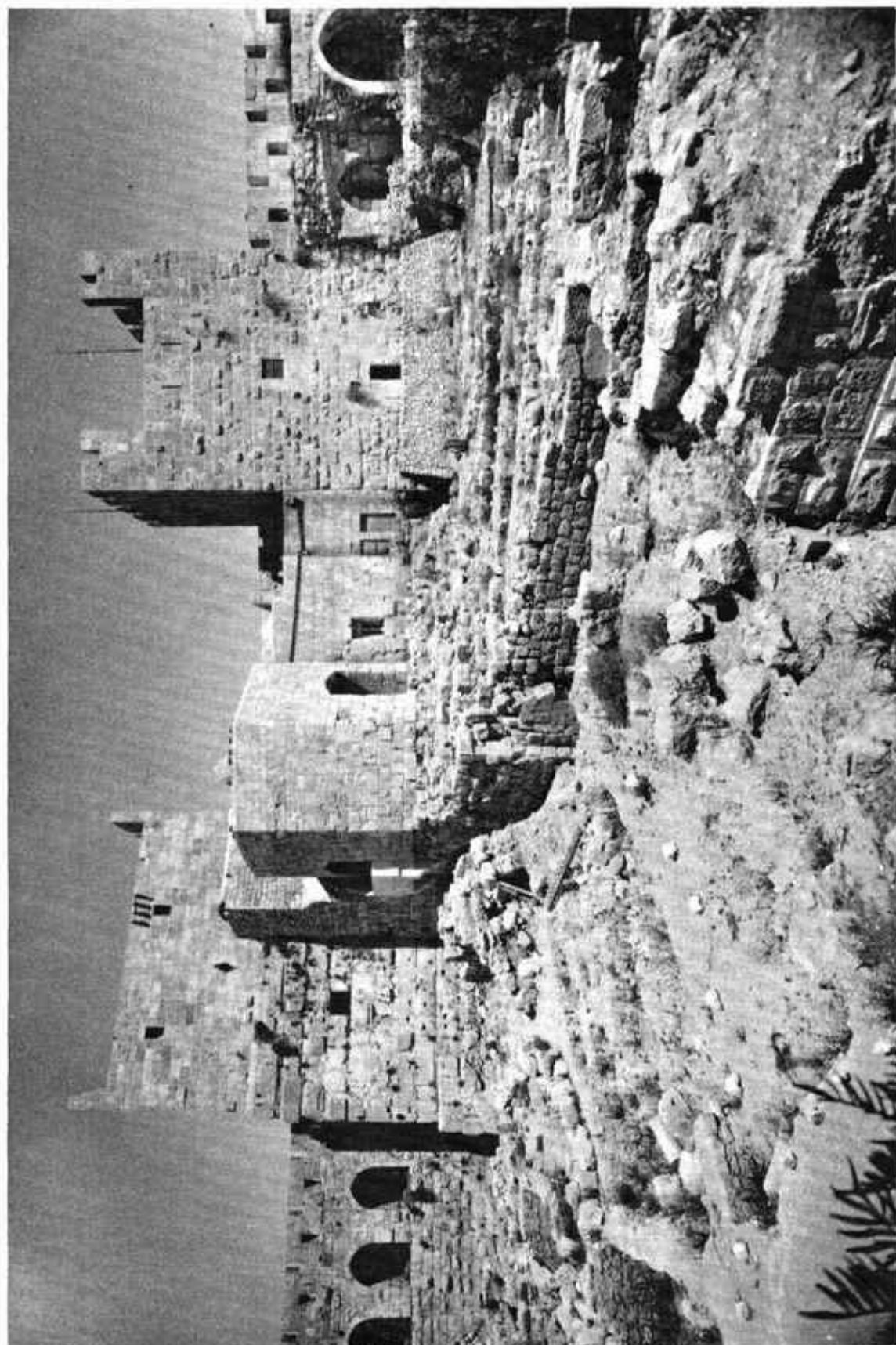
Herod, as the supplanter of the legitimate dynasty and as the creature of the gentile oppressor, could then hope for no popular support. From the aristocracy also, both secular and

sacerdotal, he could hope little. To them he was an upstart and an outsider and they would never serve him loyally. Since they had but a small place in the heart of the people, Herod could afford to deal with them drastically and he showed them no mercy. At the very outset of his reign, on the capture of Jerusalem, he had, as already related, proscribed all the members of the nobility who supported Antigonus, and as the great majority of them had, in the short-sighted expectation that the Parthians had come to stay, taken Antigonus' side, this proscription had broken the power of the aristocracy. About ten years later a conspiracy gave him the chance of striking down another batch. The leader was that Costobar who had intrigued against Herod with Cleopatra and had been pardoned and married to Salome. Salome had since quarrelled with him and divorced him, because, she now alleged, she had reason to suspect his loyalty to her brother. The charge she brought against him was that he had, at the capture of Jerusalem, secured the escape of a prominent noble family, the sons of Babas. Herod had been particularly anxious to capture them, since not only were they ardent partisans of Antigonus but they were related to the Hasmonaean family, and after their mysterious disappearance a price had been put on their heads, but to no avail. In confirmation of her charge Salome revealed the place where they were concealed, and they were found where she indicated and executed. On this evidence Costobar was condemned and with him a number of other great nobles alleged to be implicated in the plot, Lysimachus, Dositheus, and Antipater also called Gadias. This blow seems finally to have broken the back of the aristocratic opposition, and no further trouble is recorded to have come from that quarter.

The only section of the Jewish people from which Herod could expect support, of however qualified a kind, was the Pharisee party. Politically the party does not seem to have

been united. There was probably already a left-wing movement, though it does not come into prominence until after Herod's death, which shared the popular hope that the kingdom of God was imminent and held that it was the duty of every good Jew to hasten its coming. But these views were probably confined to the more ignorant members, and the educated majority, better acquainted with the facts of the political situation, postponed the Day of the Lord to a discreetly distant future date. The Pharisees, it would seem, never acknowledged the legitimacy of Herod's rule or of the Roman suzerainty. When Herod imposed an oath of allegiance on his subjects they refused as a body to take the oath, and Herod, unwilling to force the issue, excused them from the obligation. When later in his reign he imposed an oath of allegiance to himself and to the emperor, they again refused. Herod could not pass over this act of disloyalty to the emperor, but he contented himself with inflicting a fine on them. But though they refused formally to admit the legitimacy of any ruler save God or His anointed king, they did not in practice resist Herod's rule; they protested, it is true, if it definitely conflicted with the Law—and they were jealous watch-dogs of its integrity, raising a cry at the slightest infraction of its rules—but they limited themselves to protest. The majority of the party followed the lead of Sameas, taking the fatalistic view that, since Herod and the Romans had conquered, their rule must be of God. God had chosen these instruments to chastise His people, and His people must submit patiently to His anger. This attitude, though hardly complimentary to Herod, was very useful to him; as long as the Pharisees taught passive obedience and as long as they retained their influence over the people he was comparatively safe. Unfortunately neither premiss was certain. In so far as the Pharisees taught obedience they tended to lose ground with the populace, and, apart from the growing left-wing movement, the bulk of





The Citadel, Jerusalem. See description on p. vii



the party could not be relied upon to submit to his rule indefinitely. Their attitude was purely opportunist, and if they saw a reasonable hope of substituting for him a more compliant ruler, they would not scruple to assist what might be God's purpose; they actually, as will be related in the next chapter, did at the end of his reign transfer their support to a rival whom they hoped would be more amenable to their advice.

Such being the feelings of his subjects towards him Herod had to base his authority on force. The country was dominated by a number of fortresses, which seem to have been the earliest of his many constructive works. Masada, on the western shore of the Dead Sea, he had apparently already fortified when still Hyrcanus' regent, seeing that it was in a defensible condition at the time of the Parthian invasion. Alexandria he had rebuilt directly he returned to Judaea as king, before the capture of Jerusalem. Hyrcania was already restored by the time of the summons to Laodicea. In Jerusalem itself he rebuilt the ancient citadel which dominated the temple, the Baris, within the first six years of his reign, as the new name which he gave to it, Antonia, proves. He also built a second citadel in the Upper City. It was a magnificent piece of military engineering and its three great towers, named after his elder brother Phasael, his wife Mariamme, and a faithful supporter Hippius, who was killed in the siege of Jerusalem, so impressed Titus a century later that he left them standing as permanent memorials of the greatness of the city he had taken; parts of one of them still stand, incorporated in the modern citadel of Jerusalem. This great fortress was complete by 29 B.C., when, it may be recalled, Alexandra endeavoured to corrupt its warden. Seven miles south of Jerusalem, near the spot where in 40 B.C. he had beaten off the Jews on his retreat from the city, he built in 23 B.C. a fortress which he named after himself, Herodium.

Other fortresses whose date is uncertain include another Herodium east of the Dead Sea and Machaerus in the same district, and Cyprus, so named after his mother, dominating Jericho. Not all these fortresses were designed to overawe his own subjects: Machaerus and the eastern Herodium were intended rather to defend his one vulnerable frontier, that against the Nabataeans. Many of them served other than purely military purposes. Some were royal residences. The citadel of Jerusalem was—apparently after 30 B.C., for the principal apartments were named after Augustus and Agrippa—sumptuously fitted out as a palace. The Herodium south of Jerusalem was also a palace. Josephus recounts its splendour in some detail. It was formed by a natural hill, artificially heightened and brought to a symmetrical conical shape, and surrounded with circular walls. Flights of steps led up to its summit and its flanks were set with pavilions rising in terraces. Since it lay in a desert area water was conveyed to it by aqueducts which excited the wonder of contemporaries. Around its base was built a considerable town; Herodium was the administrative capital of a district which probably owed its development to Herod's irrigation schemes. Most of the fortresses seem also to have served as treasuries; the first demand of the procurator of Syria when he took over the finances of the kingdom on Herod's death was the keys of the fortresses. They also served as dungeons: Hyrcania had a particularly evil reputation as the Bastille of the kingdom.

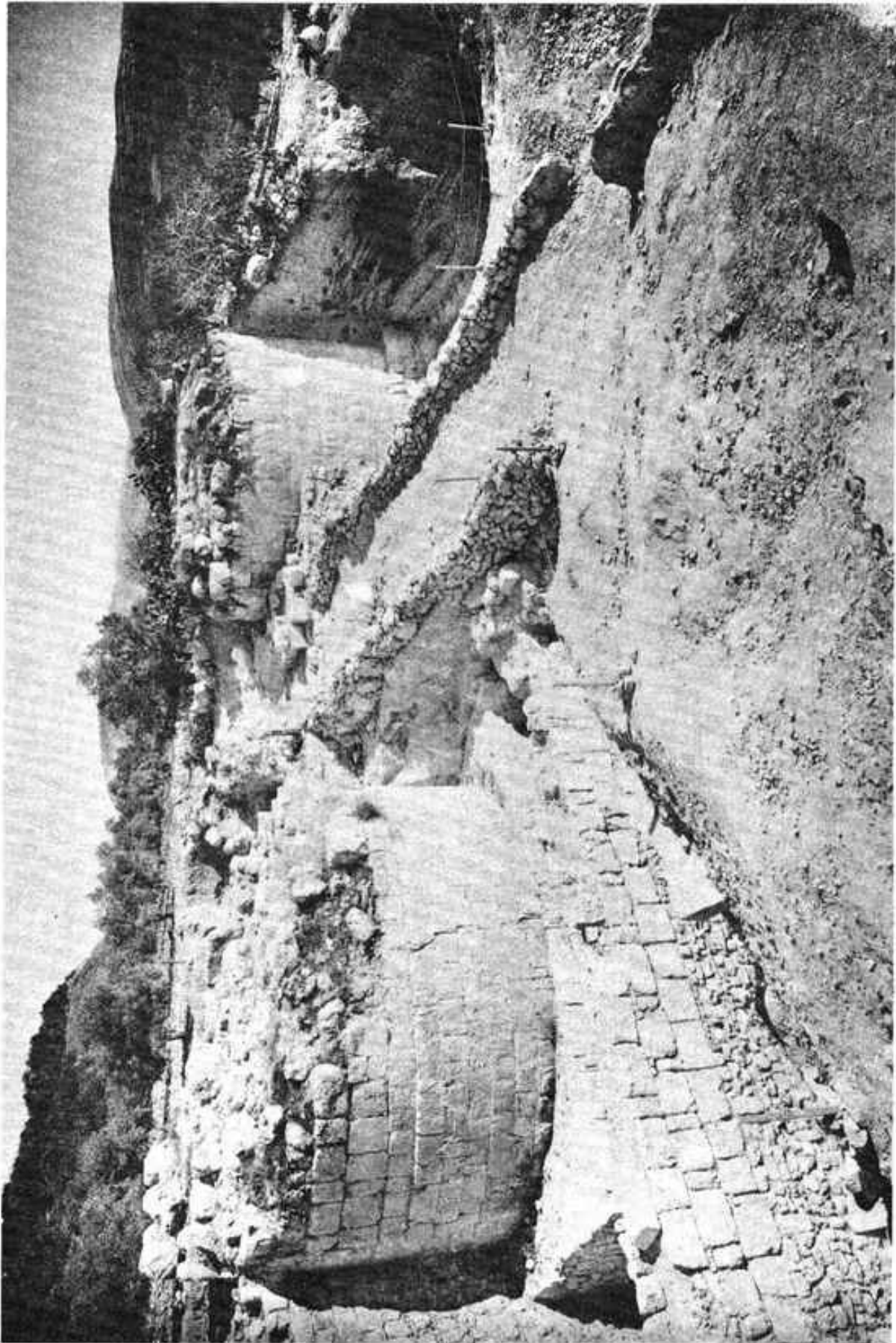
Herod's main instrument in maintaining his power was the army. In the early years of his reign he had had the support of a Roman legion stationed at Jerusalem. This legion was withdrawn in 30 B.C. and he henceforth relied on his own troops. It would seem that they were formed almost exclusively of foreign mercenaries. For garrisoning the Jewish part of his dominions he could, it is true, use his pagan subjects, and the wild tribes of the north-eastern districts afforded fine

fighting material. We do in fact hear of a corps of Trachonite archers who played a useful part in the disturbances which followed Herod's death. But the vast majority of his standing army seems to have been drawn from abroad, and his best men were recruited among the fighting races of the west. The nucleus of the guard was formed from the 400 Galatians who had once been Cleopatra's, and had been presented to Herod by Augustus, but at a later date we also find Nabataeans serving in the guard. In the great parade of troops at Herod's death the three *corps d'élite* which headed the procession were those of the Celts, of the Thracians, and of the Germans. Of the officers mentioned some have Greek names but many Latin. One Volumnius was, for instance, commander-in-chief in the last years of the reign. Two generals who played a prominent part in suppressing the riots which followed Herod's death were named Rufus and Gratus, and another officer named Jucundus is recorded. Names are not a sure test of nationality, but it is not improbable that Herod, who had a great respect for the Roman army, may have employed Italian military experts; these men were, it is clear, private adventurers and had no official connexion with the Roman government. The army would seem to have been organized on the Roman model; many units were taken over directly into the imperial army on the dissolution of the kingdom.

Herod not only maintained a standing army, stationed in the various fortresses. He also, following the regular practice of the Hellenistic kings, built up a reserve army by granting lots of land on condition of military service in time of need. He settled a large number of these reservists in the district of Esbonitis, east of the Dead Sea: these were evidently to support the defence of the Nabataean frontier. Another body was planted in the territory of the city of Gabae, north of Mount Carmel; these were cavalry, and Gabae was as a result

colloquially known in later times as the City of Troopers. These colonists were intended to hold Galilee in check, a function which they are recorded to have fulfilled in the Great Rebellion. The most important of the military settlements was at Samaria, where Herod gave lots to 6,000 men. He took the opportunity of refounding the old city, which was greatly decayed. He rebuilt it on a much larger scale, providing it with fine walls, parts of which survive to-day, and many magnificent public monuments, the chief of which was a great temple to Rome and Augustus. He remodelled its constitution—the relations of the new settlers and the old citizens must have required adjustment—and he renamed it Sebaste in honour of Augustus (27 B.C.). The Jews spoke of Sebaste as a fortress built to dominate Judaea, and in substance they were right. The troops raised from Sebaste continued to be used to hold down the Jews till the days of the Great Rebellion.

In the unruly north-eastern provinces of his kingdom also Herod found it advisable after a serious revolt to plant military settlers who might serve as a resident garrison and police force. Here there was less objection to employing Jews, since they would be isolated from their fellow countrymen. But even here Herod did not trust real native Jews. He planted two colonies in these parts. The first, in Trachonitis, consisted of 3,000 Idumaeans; even his own countrymen he did not trust with arms except far from their homes. This colony seems to have been destroyed in a second revolt. The second colony had a curious and interesting history. One Zamaris, a Babylonian Jew, had recently, having apparently quarrelled with the Parthian government, migrated into Roman territory and had been granted a temporary home near Antioch by Saturninus, the governor of Syria. This Zamaris seems to have been a great noble in the Parthian style. His household numbered 100



The West Gate of Sebaste

persons and he had a bodyguard of 500 mounted archers. Herod offered him a permanent home in his dominions. His terms were liberal. Zamaris and his followers were to be granted land free of taxes in Batanaea and Zamaris was to retain full authority over his men without interference from the royal officials. His duties were to police the neighbouring districts of Batanaea and in particular he had the appropriate duty of securing safe passage for Babylonian pilgrims to Jerusalem, whose shortest route—they travelled via Palmyra and Damascus—was through Trachonitis. Zamaris accepted and established his followers at a village which he fortified and named Bathyra. The colony proved a great success; other settlers flocked in, attracted by its privileges, and it flourished greatly. Its immunity from taxation was infringed by Philip, who succeeded Herod in these districts, and still further diminished by the Agrippas; it was finally abolished by the Romans when they took over the direct administration of the country. The autonomy of the clan was, however, respected and the descendants of Zamaris continued to rule it; Philip the son of Iacimus and grandson of Zamaris will appear later in this history. The Babylonian Jews, living as they did in an alien country, out of touch with the mass of Palestinian Jewry and completely dependent on the Herodian house for their favoured position, remained steadfastly loyal to the dynasty. They formed the bodyguard of the kings who later ruled the district, and in the Great Rebellion they stood by King Agrippa II and fought under his command on the Roman side against the insurgent Jews.

On the basis of his military power Herod built up an absolute and secularist monarchy. The Hasmonaean monarchy had been rooted in the high-priesthood. The high priest had been the head of the Jewish community since the exile, and the Hasmonaean dynasty had climbed to power by usurping the high-priestly office, and when the later members of the



house assumed the royal title they had kept the high-priesthood as well. Herod could hardly hope to assume the high-priesthood himself. The Hasmonaeans had at least been of priestly family, and their usurpation had been confirmed by the popular will. Herod was not only not of priestly family: he was not even a true Jew. It may be that Herod at one time had thoughts of assuming the high-priesthood: it is perhaps significant that his court historian, Nicolaus of Damascus, invented for him a pedigree which made him a member of one of the priestly families which returned from the Babylonian exile. But he did not pursue the idea. The only alternative policy, since he could not take office himself, was to degrade it and make it dependent on the royal favour. For these reasons Herod broke with the hereditary principle and abolished the lifelong tenure of the office. High priests for the future were appointed by the king and held office during his pleasure. The men he chose for the office were not members of the Jewish aristocracy but comparatively obscure outsiders, who, owing their elevation to him, might be expected to be properly subservient. His first appointment, made on the capture of Jerusalem, has already been described: his nominee Ananel, being a Babylonian Jew and a personal supporter, was an excellent choice. After the brief tenure of the office by Aristobulus Ananel was restored. His end is not known: perhaps he died. Of the next occupant of the office, Jesus the son of Phabis, nothing is known. He was deposed in 23 B.C., when Herod bestowed the office on Simon the son of Boethus, the father of his third wife, who like his second was called Mariamme. Simon belonged to a distinguished Alexandrian Jewish family. He thus, both as an outsider and as a relative by marriage, was eminently satisfactory and held office for seventeen years. In 6 B.C. Herod divorced his daughter for complicity in a plot, and he was involved in her fall. He was succeeded by one Matthias son of Theophilus,

who held his office for a year only. He was held responsible for not preventing the affair of the golden eagle, and was deposed in favour of Joazar the son of Boethus—who was apparently not only related to Simon son of Boethus, but also a brother-in-law of the deposed Matthias. The high-priesthood tended thereafter to circulate in a select group of families who are spoken of in the Gospels as 'the high priests'. At the same time that Herod took over the appointment of the high priest he probably also assumed the control of the temple and of its very considerable funds. Later members of the dynasty, who were no longer kings of Judaea, were from time to time granted by the Roman government the nomination of the high priest together with the management of the temple and its treasury, and it seems likely that this conjunction of powers dates from Herod's reign. Herod was thus as far as he could be supreme head of the Jewish church, the high priest being reduced to a mere executant of the ritual acts which his master could not perform. His dependent position is well illustrated by a small but significant fact. The sacred vestments which the high priest wore on the three great feasts and on the Day of Atonement had been kept by the Hasmonaean kings in the Baris, the royal fortress adjoining the temple; this was natural enough since they were themselves high priests. Herod, when he separated the high-priestly office from the crown, retained the custody of the sacred vestments, which were still deposited in the Antonia and were only released the day before the feasts on which the high priest had to wear them, and returned immediately afterwards.

Besides the high priest there was a second possible rival to the power of the crown, the Sanhedrin. By what method its seventy-one members were chosen, whether by co-optation or by nomination, is not known, nor what precisely were the qualifications for membership. In practice it had been



an aristocratic body, the great majority of its members being drawn from the old priestly families of the Sadducee persuasion, though it contained a number of Pharisees, both priests and laymen learned in the law, 'the scribes' of the Gospels. It was at once a council of state and a supreme court of justice; as already noted it alone could inflict a sentence of death. Herod's proscription on the capture of Jerusalem radically altered its composition; forty-five of its members were executed. How the vacancies were filled we are not told, but the later composition of the Sanhedrin gives us some clue. A larger representation seems to have been given to the Pharisee party in view of its acquiescence in Herod's rule, but it seems probable that the majority of the members were selected from the less prominent Sadducee families. Such men would be less exacting in their zeal for the Law, having been brought up in the liberal tradition, and they would, owing their promotion to the crown, be more subservient to it than the old aristocratic families. The new priestly aristocracy thus formed—the Sadducees whom one meets in the Gospels—proved on the whole, like the narrow oligarchy of 'the high priests' in which it centred, a faithful ally of the established government. It tended at times to strain at the leash a little, especially against the kings, since it preferred the greater independence and prestige it enjoyed under direct Roman rule, but its interests were too deeply involved with those of the government for it to be ever seriously disloyal.

Even as thus reconstituted the Sanhedrin was too traditional a body for Herod to allow it any effective power. It continued to exist during his reign and on the Roman annexation it re-emerged into prominence, but Herod is never recorded to have consulted it and he definitely deprived it of its judicial prerogatives. In its stead he established a secular royal council on the regular Hellenistic model, consisting of

his relatives, principal ministers, and other advisers without portfolio. The new privy council functioned like the old Sanhedrin not only as a council of state but as a supreme court of justice. Hyrcanus seems to have been tried before it—his former tenure of the high-priesthood apparently gave him no right to trial before his peers; it was certainly the court which condemned Mariamme; it figured prominently in the judicial proceedings against various members of Herod's family to be described in the next chapter. This privy council was usually the only body which Herod consulted. But on some particularly important occasions, to deal with momentous decisions of policy like that to rebuild the temple, or *causes célèbres* like that of the golden eagle, Herod preferred to summon a more representative assembly of notables; its constitution is unknown.

As he replaced the sacerdotal Sanhedrin by a secular council, so Herod built up to replace the old hereditary aristocracy a new aristocracy of service whose members should owe their rank and their wealth to him and to him alone. They were graded according to regular Hellenistic practice in progressive ranks of dignity, 'the friends' being the lowest, then 'the most honoured friends', then 'the guards of the body', and finally 'the kinsmen'; the last title, it may be noted, was like the others purely honorific and implied no real relationship. They were rewarded with pensions or with estates, which were in all probability held on a tenure officially as well as actually precarious. The members of this aristocracy of service have for the most part Greek names, but that does not prove that they were pagans; many Jews of high social standing—and not a few of the lower orders like Philip the apostle—had at this date Greek names. But many certainly were pagans. About Ptolemy, the grand vizier in the latter part of the reign, we cannot be certain, for Ptolemy was a name much favoured by Jews. Nicolaus, on the other hand,

Herod's court philosopher and historian and one of his most trusted advisers and diplomatic agents, was a Damascene, and Nicolaus' brother, another Ptolemy, occupied a high position at court. Diophantus, the secretary of state, was certainly also a pagan; for Jews, though they took Greek names, avoided those with a definitely pagan meaning. That the general tone of the court was pagan is indicated by Nicolaus' description of the rebellion after Herod's death as being 'against his sons and the Greeks'. As to the administrative machine we have little information, but what little there is indicates that it followed the usual lines of a Hellenistic monarchy with perhaps closer affinities to Egypt than to other kingdoms. The chief minister, 'the manager of the affairs of the kingdom', has a title which on the one hand recalls the Egyptian system, where the 'manager', who was primarily a finance minister, held the highest rank, and on the other hand the Seleucid kingdom, where the chief minister had more general functions with the vague title of 'over the affairs'. We know that Ptolemy, the occupant of this office at the time of Herod's death, had in his hands both the financial records of the kingdom and the royal seal, and this suggests that though primarily a minister of finance he had a general competence for all business. Another important official was the secretary already mentioned. On the financial side other 'managers' of inferior rank and probably of local competence are recorded. Otherwise we hear chiefly of officers of the household, such as the chief huntsman and the cupbearer, the butler and the chamberlain; these last three offices were held by eunuchs, who were of course foreign slaves, but as in many oriental courts these trusted slaves, close to the person of the monarch, had considerable political power.

How far these arrangements were innovations by Herod and how far he merely carried on a system of government established by the Hasmonaean dynasty it is impossible to

say. The substructure of the administrative system Herod certainly found already in being. The general system was a strongly centralized bureaucracy. It can be traced back through the Hasmonaean period to the days of the Seleucid supremacy, and its character is so strongly reminiscent of the Ptolemaic system that it is very probable that it dates in its essential lines from the Ptolemaic occupation in the third century B.C. The country was divided into large circumscriptions—Galilee, Samareitis, Peraea, and Judaea proper—seemingly called ‘sections’ and ruled by officers called meridarchs. The sections were in turn sub-divided into smaller units styled toparchies—there were some eleven of them in Judaea proper, the largest section, and probably four in Peraea. The toparchies were again sub-divided into villages: the toparchy of Betharamphtha in Peraea is known to have comprised eighteen village units. A nicely graded hierarchy of officials administered these circumscriptions, all of whom, down to the humble village clerk whose duty it was to maintain the land register and draw up taxation assessments of his little district, were appointed by the crown. Such a rigidly centralized system obviously suited Herod well, and he did no more than strengthen it. The system as Herod found it, it may be noted, applied only to the area of the ethnarchy of Hyrcanus, and not to the later accretions. Herod seems to have extended it to such of the added districts as were predominantly Jewish in population. Joppa, for instance, and Jamnia, which Pompey had constituted autonomous city republics, were by the end of Herod’s reign toparchies, and Idumaea was brought under the system, Pompey’s two cities of Adora and Marissa being suppressed. Herod evidently did not think that the Jews were to be trusted with autonomy. The Greek cities he ruled with a lighter hand, merely appointing a ‘general of the city’ in each to supervise their government in the royal interest.

Of the financial system of the kingdom we could wish we knew more, for one of the greatest mysteries of Herod's administration is where he got the vast sums he must have required for his lavish expenditure. Of the financial machinery we can, thanks to scattered hints in Josephus, form a rough picture. It seems in its main outlines, like the administration generally, to have been modelled on that of Egypt. We hear, as in Egypt, of royal banks in the capitals of the sections, with branches no doubt in the capitals of the toparchies, into which cash revenues were paid and from which disbursements could be made for local expenditure. We hear also of public granaries (*this is in the provincial period, when what had under the kingdom been royal became the property of the Roman people*); they would, as in Egypt, receive the revenues in kind. Much of the land revenue was probably collected in corn; the tribute to Rome had under Caesar's arrangements been reckoned in corn, and later, at the time of the Great Rebellion, mention is made of Caesar's corn which was lying in the villages of Upper Galilee. It would seem that the majority of the revenues were, according to the usual practice of the day, farmed; the publicans, or revenue contractors, were, as the Gospels show, an important class in the community. Of the character of the taxes we know practically nothing. Import and export dues at the frontiers are attested, and there were probably also internal tolls; Matthew would seem to have collected an octroi at the city gate of Tiberias. The principal tax was probably on land; it no doubt took the form of a percentage of the crop, as did the Roman tribute fixed by Caesar. The only other tax of which we hear is one on purchases and sales, which was an innovation of Herod. It was probably not a market tax but in the nature of a stamp tax on contracts of sale, principally no doubt on transfers of real property; such a tax existed in Egypt, whence Herod may have borrowed the idea.

It is extremely difficult to estimate whether his taxation was, as at first sight one might assume in view of his enormous expenditure, exorbitant. We know, it is true—and it is rare in the ancient world to have such precise information—the amount of the revenue at the time of his death; it was approximately 1,050 Jewish talents, or 1,050,000 drachmae. But this figure means almost nothing to us, since we cannot estimate the purchasing-power of the drachma, nor what relation the whole sum bore to the total income of the kingdom. There is, however, some evidence which tends to prove that Herod's taxation was not crippling. There is no record of any but trifling changes in the rate of taxation during the fifty years that followed Herod's death, and yet his grandson Agrippa drew from a kingdom which was of approximately the same extent a substantially larger revenue, 1,200,000 drachmae. The inference probably to be drawn is that the rate of taxation enforced by Herod, so far from exhausting the country, permitted it to rise in prosperity. There cannot have been anything radically unsound in the finances of a country whose revenue was so buoyant. In view of this fact not too much weight is to be attached to the violent demands for remissions of taxation, and particularly for the abolition of the new tax on sales, made to Archelaus on Herod's death; such demands were a regular feature of the accession of a new monarch. And it is noteworthy that the Jewish delegation which on Herod's death urged the abolition of the monarchy before Augustus said very little about financial oppression; in general terms they asserted what was palpably false, that the kingdom had been in a flourishing condition at the beginning of Herod's reign and was now reduced to the utmost poverty, but in particular they complained only of the confiscations which had ruined the nobility but would not have affected the ordinary taxpayer. More significant than the complaints of the well-to-do are perhaps the widespread

peasant risings which followed Herod's death, and in particular the burning of district offices, where the taxation registers would be kept. But it is difficult to say in these cases how much was due to economic and how much to political and religious discontent.

Herod must clearly have greatly increased the royal revenue, for despite his expenditure he left the treasury well filled on his death. This was partly achieved by the imposition of new taxes, notably that on sales. This tax, it may be noted, would, if I have interpreted its nature rightly, have hit the upper classes chiefly. In the rate of the land tax, which the peasants ultimately or directly paid, there is no word of increase. On the contrary Herod twice made remissions, of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. for the years 25-24 B.C., when there was owing to the failure of the rains a severe famine, and of 25 per cent. on his return from his visit to Agrippa (14 B.C.). Indeed, Herod seems to have felt a genuine solicitude for the material well-being of his humbler subjects. His benevolence was strikingly illustrated by his conduct during the famine. Relief was urgently needed, but unfortunately Herod was at the moment short of money, having recently spent huge sums on the rebuilding of Samaria and other great public works: moreover his corn revenue, if, as seems probable, it consisted of a percentage of the crop, would automatically have dropped, apart from the remission which he made in the rate. In this emergency Herod showed himself at his best. He stripped his palaces of their gold and silver ornaments and melted down his plate, and with the bullion thus obtained he approached Petronius, the prefect of Egypt, and asked permission to buy Egyptian corn; the Egyptian harvest, which depends on the Nile, was unaffected by the general drought. Egyptian corn was normally reserved for official use and export licences were rarely granted to private persons, but on this occasion Herod was able in view of the special circumstances to obtain a permit. The corn he

thus secured he rationed out carefully to his subjects, organizing bakeries whence the aged and infirm could draw bread ready made. He further distributed warm clothing for the winter—for the drought had been as disastrous to the sheep and goats as to the cereal crop and there was a great shortage of wool. Nor did he omit to provide for the future. He supplied seed corn not only to his own subjects but to neighbouring districts as well, with the result that next year there was a bumper harvest.

Herod probably increased the revenue by stricter supervision of the collection; he was not the man to tolerate evasion by the taxpayer nor to permit his contractors to enrich themselves at the expense of the exchequer. The revenue also profited greatly by his proscriptions and executions, which were always accompanied by the confiscation of the property of the deceased. By eliminating the old nobility Herod became a landlord on a very large scale, arid, unpleasant as the process was for the victims, it materially increased the royal revenue without placing any additional burden on the peasants who bore the brunt of the taxes.

Herod did much to increase the taxable value of the kingdom. He developed the lower Jordan valley by irrigation works, founding a new town, which he called Phasaelis after his brother, to the north of Jericho, and introducing into the region a superior variety of date-palm, whose dates were known after his minister Nicolaus as Nicolaitans; these dates formed in later times one of the principal exports of Palestine. It is probable that the profits of this enterprise went directly into his pocket, for the reclaimed districts would seem to have been royal property. The building of Herodium also probably, as suggested above, marks the development though irrigation of the arid country south of Jerusalem. He seems also to have encouraged pigeon-breeding; a breed of pigeons named Herodians is recorded in the Talmud. Here again the



exchequer may have profited directly, for it is not unlikely that these pigeons were a royal monopoly. Perhaps his most important contribution to the prosperity of the kingdom was his creation of a new port for it. The coast-line of Judaea is destitute of natural harbours; its best port, Joppa, is merely an open roadstead, very dangerous in stormy weather. Herod remedied this lack. At Strato's Tower he built at vast expense and with immense labour a great artificial basin, the Augustan harbour, as large as the Peiraeus. It was a Herculean task. To form the breakwater huge blocks of stone, 50 feet in length, 18 in width, and 9 in depth, had to be lowered into 20 fathoms of water. The breakwater was 200 feet wide and on it, protected by a sea-wall set with towers, were vaulted warehouses and ample space for quays. The entry of the basin, which was on the north, the most sheltered side, was adorned with three colossi, one standing on a tower, the others on two huge monoliths. The whole town, which had hitherto been an obscure little place, was rebuilt on a magnificent scale. It was laid out on the regular chequer-board plan favoured by Hellenistic architects, with streets parallel and at right angles to the sea front. It was provided with an elaborate drainage system of underground tunnels running into the harbour and with a good water-supply, provided by aqueducts. It was adorned with a stone theatre and amphitheatre and a great temple of Rome and Augustus; the statues were replicas of the Pheidian masterpieces, the Zeus of Olympia and the Hera of Argos. The work took twelve years to complete, being begun in 22 B.C. and finished in 10 B.C. In the following spring the inauguration of the new city, which was renamed Caesarea in honour of the emperor, was celebrated on a magnificent scale with musical and athletic competitions, chariot races, gladiatorial combats, and wild-beast fights. Banquets were provided for the numerous delegations sent by neighbouring cities to attend the in-

auguration, and free meals for all the spectators who flocked to watch the games. Herod thus gave to Judaea a fine harbour and thereby enormously increased its commercial prosperity. Caesarea developed rapidly and became one of the leading ports of the Levant, a position which it maintained down into the Middle Ages, when the artificial harbour succumbed to long neglect and what was left of the town was pulled to pieces by the Crusaders for building-material. Its loss has only recently been remedied by the creation of the new artificial harbour of Haifa.

Even when allowance is made for all these augmentations of revenue, it is difficult to see how the resources of a small kingdom, not highly favoured by nature, can have sufficed for Herod's prodigious expenditure, and there is some evidence which suggests that he had other sources of income. He was a man of great business ability and he came of a family of merchants, and it would appear that he did not disdain to use his gifts for the profit of his kingdom. During his visit to Rome in 12 B.C. Herod obtained from Augustus the concession of half the copper-mines of Cyprus—the most important mines in the eastern provinces. The concession was ostensibly a free gift, a parting present from the emperor to his guest. But as Herod simultaneously gave 300 talents to Augustus the transaction may justifiably be regarded as commercial. Herod is also known to have had at various periods of his reign large sums out on loan in the Nabataean kingdom. It may be recalled that at the time of the Parthian invasion Herod suspected that the Nabataeans would not be sorry to see so important a creditor out of the way. Some twenty-five years later Herod endeavoured to exercise diplomatic pressure on Syllaeus, the Nabataean vizier, by calling in a loan of 60 talents due from his master Obedas, and from subsequent proceedings it appears that Obedas' total indebtedness amounted to 500 talents. These facts suggest that

Herod had reduced the Nabataean kingdom to economic vassalage, and it may be that a large proportion of the profits of the Indian and south Arabian trade which passed through Petra went into his pockets. If a substantial proportion of his income was derived from private financial speculations it is easier to understand how Herod was able to bequeath substantial cash legacies to the imperial family and to his own numerous relations besides dividing his kingdom among his sons. It also becomes more explicable why his grandson Agrippa I, who drew a larger revenue, died heavily in debt, although he never embarked on public works on a scale comparable to Herod's.

It is then on the whole probable that the economic burden which Herod imposed on his kingdom, though severe, was not intolerable. Politically his rule was inevitably repressive. The right of assembly was severely restricted and the whole country was kept under the closest supervision by a vast army of secret agents. Herod's spies were everywhere, and in the smallest group one could not be sure that one member was not in the king's pay. On the faintest suspicion of conspiracy wholesale arrests were made, and, once inside the walls of the dreaded Hyrcania, there was little hope of release. But however unpleasant his methods, they were forced upon Herod by the implacable animosity of his subjects, an animosity which he incurred for reasons which were largely beyond his control. And they were effective. After 30 B.C. there were no rebellions and few conspiracies, and these were, thanks to Herod's excellent intelligence service, nipped in the bud. Order was also rigorously maintained; during his reign we hear little of the brigandage which is the perennial bane of Palestine and was under Roman rule to grow to disastrous proportions. Though he perforce relied principally on his police Herod never, till the very end of his reign, abandoned the hope of conciliating his people, and in particular the

Pharisees. Wherever it was possible he was scrupulous to respect their religious prejudices. Though he probably himself held very liberal views—he once admitted to Nicolaus of Damascus that he felt more at home with Greeks than with Jews—he seems personally to have observed the ritual law; Augustus' witticism, 'I would rather be Herod's pig than Herod's son', would have lost much of its point if Herod had not somewhat ostentatiously refrained from pork. He observed rigorously the prohibition against mixed marriages in arranging matches for his numerous relatives, insisting that gentiles who married into his family must accept circumcision and the Jewish faith. On one occasion he sacrificed what promised to be a valuable dynastic alliance between his sister Salome and the Nabataean vizier Syllaeus to this rule; for Syllaeus refused to accept circumcision. He was also scrupulous to obey on Jewish soil the second commandment in its strictest interpretation. His coinage, except for his last issue, when, disgusted by the treachery of the Pharisee party, he had abandoned all attempt at conciliation, is strictly aniconic, bearing neither his own head nor the emperor's, nor any image of any living thing. In the new buildings in the classical style which he erected at Jerusalem and elsewhere in Jewish territory he was careful to avoid the use of decorative sculpture. Yet for all his care he could not still the suspicion of the Pharisees, ever alert for a breach of the law. A comic incident illustrates Herod's forbearance and the kind of opposition he had to deal with. His architects must have been in despair how, without the use of sculpture, to complete the decoration of the magnificent theatre they were commissioned to build in the best style of the day. At length they or Herod hit upon a brilliant solution of the difficulty; instead of statues they would have trophies. But when the pious came to inspect the finished building they no sooner saw the trophies than they raised their hands in horror. Herod,

smiling to himself, asked that a representative delegation might attend him in the theatre. He asked them mildly what objections they had to the building, and they burst into an impassioned declamation: they would rather die than suffer the Law of God to be trampled under foot, never would they endure to see the holy city defiled with graven images, and much more to the same effect. Herod let them have their say and then ordered a workman to dismantle one of the trophies. Down came the helmet, the shield, and the rest, and a simple pole and crossbar was revealed. The delegation looked rather foolish and murmured apologies, and Herod, having enjoyed his little joke, dismissed them.

Though willing to humour the prejudices of his people on unessential points, Herod refused to be browbeaten on major issues of policy; if popular sentiment or even the Law itself conflicted with what he conceived to be his duty as king, it had to yield to his will. A clear-cut issue arose over the problem of brigandage. It was Herod's most elementary duty to maintain order. According to the Law the penalty for theft was restitution fourfold; if the thief could not pay, it was laid down that he should be sold as a slave; but it was also laid down that no Hebrew slave might be sold to a gentile and that he must be freed in seven years. Under such a law it was impossible to cope with the robber bands which had during the disturbed years of the civil wars come to infest the country; a captured brigand would find little difficulty in escaping and joining a neighbouring band, even if he were not set free at once by a complacent master; for it must be remembered that public opinion was on the side of the robbers as rebels against the government. Herod stiffened up the provisions of the law, making the penalty enslavement and sale abroad, and despite loud protests from the Pharisees he firmly maintained his decision.

The main conflict between Herod and his Jewish subjects

was at once less well defined and more deep-seated. It was, as has been pointed out above, tacitly expected of him by the Roman government that he should civilize his subjects, which meant in effect, since the dominating culture of the East was Greek, hellenize them. He was himself heart and soul in favour of this programme. He was, it is true, essentially a barbarian and his culture was superficial in the extreme. But he was anxious to be in the van of progress, and, since Greek culture was the done thing, he had a great theoretical respect for it. He took pains to make his court a salon, gathering round him such secondary luminaries of the literary world as Nicolaus of Damascus. He himself, with characteristic vigour, set about late in life to fill the many gaps in his education, and Nicolaus records with complacent pride the rapid progress made by his royal pupil under his expert guidance. He started off with philosophy and, having mastered this subject, went on to rhetoric and then embarked on history, which, as Nicolaus pointed out, was the proper study of kings; Nicolaus wrote a universal history to serve as a text-book for him. The advantages which he enjoyed himself he was determined to impart to his people. In their present condition they were a disgrace to the empire and particularly to himself, who was entrusted with their education; they were an enclave of archaic barbarism in a civilized modern world. They must be wakened from their slumbers and see the light of the new age. For this purpose he adopted a means much favoured at the time for popularizing the culture of the day. Shortly after 30 B.C. he built at Jerusalem a theatre and hippodrome and inaugurated quadrennial games of the usual type comprising musical and dramatic contests and athletic sports and chariot races. He also—and it shows his lack of good taste—built an amphitheatre in which he gave gladiatorial shows and wild-beast fights, which, though alien to the true spirit of Hellenic culture, were gradually being

popularized in the East by the pernicious example of Rome. The games were celebrated with great splendour and amply endowed with prizes. The Jews would thus have the opportunity of seeing the best talent of the Roman world—the competitors in these games were by this date professionals in all but name, organized in two great clubs, for music and gymnastics respectively, who spent their lives on tour from festival to festival—and might in time acquire a taste for the two proper occupations of men of culture, literature and athletics, and eventually take them up themselves.

There was nothing incompatible with the Jewish faith in this programme. Among the Jews of the western Dispersion participation in the cultural life of their gentile neighbours was normal. So pious a Jew as Philo of Alexandria was deeply read in the philosophy of the Greeks and he has left it on record that he saw no harm in attending a theatre. From the emperor Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians it would appear that many Alexandrian Jews sought membership of the city gymnasium and were only excluded by the intolerance of the Greeks. Unfortunately for Herod's schemes, *sentiment in Palestine was very different*. There the experiment had been tried once before more than a hundred years earlier, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, and it had led up to the desecration of the temple and a cruel persecution of those who remained steadfast to the Jewish faith. There had, as a result, been a violent reaction from any form of Hellenism. Judaism became narrower and more exclusive than ever, and the whole intellectual energy of the people became devoted to the Law and to its perfection as an all-inclusive rule of life.

The temper of Palestinian Jewry was still deeply suspicious of Hellenism, and the immediate reaction of the whole people, led by the Pharisee party, to Herod's games was one of unqualified disapproval. Specific objections they had few to

make; Josephus only records a protest against flinging men to wild beasts for the amusement of the multitude. The general theme of their outcry was simply that these practices which Herod was introducing were foreign and not in accordance with the customs of their ancestors; the Jews were instinctively afraid of anything, however seemingly innocent in itself, which would tend to break down the rigid barrier they had built up between themselves and the outside world. Feeling ran very high and ten fanatics resolved to save their people by assassinating Herod. Their plan was to strike him down while he was sitting in the theatre glorying in his sin. It was discovered just in time by one of Herod's secret agents and the assassins were arrested, and, boldly confessing their crime, were tortured and executed. Popular sympathy ran high in their favour, and soon afterwards the spy who had betrayed them was lynched in the open street and his body, torn limb from limb, was thrown to the dogs. Herod had some difficulty in identifying the perpetrators of the outrage, but by persistent torture of some bystanders who had been seized he elicited their names. They were all executed with all their families. By these grim methods Herod enforced his will, and the games went on. Their propagandist effect was, however, negligible, for the Jews sullenly refused to attend them and the audiences were composed almost entirely of foreigners attracted by their splendour.

To his Jewish subjects Herod was a Jew, if a Jew of liberal tendencies such as they did not approve. But Herod was more than a king of the Jews. He was king also of extensive pagan districts and in relation to them he refused to be trammelled by the prohibition of the Jewish law. To his pagan subjects he was frankly a pagan king. He raised no objections to their erecting statues of himself; it was for them the normal mode of expressing loyalty to their sovereign, and the fact that he personally was a Jew was irrelevant. The



inscribed basis of a statue of Herod (the statue itself has unfortunately perished) is extant at Canatha, the capital of Auranitis. He went farther. He built them temples; in particular he gave strong encouragement to the imperial cult which was arising during this period in all quarters of the empire. His temples of Rome and Augustus at Caesarea and Sebaste have already been mentioned. He also dedicated a magnificent temple of white marble to Rome and Augustus at Panium, by the source of the Jordan, for the benefit of the pagan districts in the north-east which he acquired in 20 B.C. The sight of a Jewish king actively promoting pagan cults shocked the Jewish people profoundly, and Herod seems to have felt that some justification was needed. His excuse was political necessity; he was a client king of Rome and he must demonstrate his loyalty in the usual way. But there can be little doubt that he personally felt no scruples.

Herod actively promoted the development of his pagan territories. According to the ideas of the time, by development he understood the encouragement of cities. Civilization in the ancient world still had its etymological meaning; it meant membership of an urban community, for only in an urban community could men enjoy to their full extent the gymnasium, the theatre, and the other cultural amenities of Greek life, and take their full share in the supreme work of life—government. It had long become an established tradition in Herod's day that an enlightened king embellished, enlarged, and when necessary founded cities. Herod, whose ambition it was to be the model king of the empire, took up his task with vigour. His most splendid achievements, the rebuilding of Caesarea and Sebaste, have already been described. He also rebuilt the little city of Anthedon on a sumptuous scale and re-named it Agrippias in honour of Augustus' colleague. He furthermore created an entirely new city on the coastal plain between Caesarea and Joppa, calling

it Antipatris to commemorate his father. It may be noted that he founded only pagan cities. Security came before progress, and as long as the Jews maintained their implacable hostility to his rule they could not be allowed, even in the sacred name of progress, the dangerous gift of autonomy.

His benefactions to cities were not confined to those of his own kingdom. Augusta and Agrippa are reported to have remarked that Judaea was too small a kingdom for a man of such large ideas; he ought to have had all Syria with Egypt as well. There was scarcely a city of the neighbourhood that did not receive some sumptuous gift. To the Ascalonites he gave baths, ornamental fountains, and colonnaded courts. Ptolemais received a gymnasium, Tyre and Sidon each a theatre. To Berytus, refounded as a Roman colony by Agrippa, he was particularly generous, giving it temples, colonnades, exhedrae, and market-places. To the little city of Byblus, which suffered severely from the depredations of the Ituraean mountaineers of Lebanon, he presented the practical gift of a new town wall. The Phoenician Tripolis received a gymnasium, Damascus both a gymnasium and a theatre. In northern Syria he gave aqueducts to Laodicea on Sea, and to Antioch a most sumptuous gift. Strange to say the principal street of the great city, for centuries the capital of the Seleucids, had hitherto been a mud track. Herod paved the whole of its two and a half miles of length with marble blocks, and built along either side of it those colonnades which are so pleasing a feature of the Hellenistic architecture of Syria. Herod's benefactions extended even farther afield. Wherever he travelled he left behind him a trail of grateful cities. His visit to Agrippa in Asia in 14 B.C. was the occasion of many kind deeds. At Chios he rebuilt a colonnade destroyed in the Mithridatic war which the Chians had never since been rich enough to rebuild, and paid off a debt which they owed to the imperial treasury. He presented

to the people of Cos an endowment for their gymnasium. He gave to the Rhodians money for the building of a fleet as well as rebuilding the temple of the Pythian Apollo which had been burnt down. He is also recorded to have conferred many unspecified benefits on Samos, on Pergamum, and on the cities of the Ionian and Lycian leagues. On one of his visits to Archelaus of Cappadocia he endowed the small cities of that monarch's Cilician dominions with funds which would cover their tribute. His various journeys through Greece on the way to and from Rome were occasions of further benefactions. He contributed lavishly to the building of the new city of Nicopolis which Augustus founded to commemorate the victory of Actium. Nor did he forget the old cities of Greece. He loaded with equal benefits the two ancient rivals, Sparta and Athens: at Athens an inscribed statue-base still records the gratitude of the people to 'King Herod, the friend of Rome, for his beneficence and goodwill to itself'. His most spectacular gift to Greece was his revival of the Olympic games. Their celebration was very much curtailed owing to the financial stringency caused by the exactions of the civil war period. Herod consented to be president of the games when he passed through Greece in 12 B.C., and celebrated them on the most splendid scale. Not content with this he earned for himself the proud title of 'perpetual president' of the games by settling on them a permanent endowment.

The Jews resented these lavish gifts to gentiles, and complained that Herod impoverished his people for the benefit of foreigners. There was some substance in this complaint. However important his other sources of income, Herod must have used the revenue derived from his Jewish territory for his multifarious benefactions to pagan cities, and for many of these benefactions not much return could be expected to his Jewish subjects. Herod indulged at their expense his personal taste for architectural magnificence and ostentatious display,

and satisfied abroad the craving for popular applause which he was unable to gratify at home. But a fair proportion of his expenditure can be justified on practical grounds. Caesarea, though it was a pagan city, was the harbour of Judaea, and even the games with which he endowed it, distasteful though they might be to Jewish sentiment, were a useful advertisement to the new port and helped to launch it on its career. His benefactions to Augustus' city of Nicopolis and Agrippa's colony of Berytus were no doubt intended to win the gratitude of their imperial founders. His gifts to Ascalon, Damascus, and the Phoenician cities were calculated to conciliate the goodwill of these important neighbours on whom the commercial prosperity of the kingdom largely depended. Finally, even his benefactions to pagan cities farther afield could be justified in the interests of the kinsmen of his Jewish subjects, the Jews of the Dispersion.

Anti-semitism was at this period widespread in the Greek cities of the East. Its general causes were those familiar in every age. The Jews were an alien and unassimilable element in the social structure. They could not in view of their peculiar religious views enter into civic life, because every department of it was permeated by paganism. They were rich but they did not contribute anything for civic purposes; other rich men gave lavishly to such public causes as the games, but the Jews would not spend their money on what were officially festivals in honour of pagan gods. And worst of all, from the money which they earned at the expense of the citizens they annually sent a large sum to Jerusalem. To the citizens of Ephesus or Smyrna the sight of good money morally their own—for had it not been gained by trade or manufacture in their city and would not any one but the Jews have spent it for the city's benefit?—going to enrich the temple of the barbarous Jewish God in Palestine was unendurable. Flaccus, proconsul of Asia in 62 B.C., had made

himself very popular by confiscating the money collected for Jerusalem on behalf of the Roman government. The cities made use of every device to get hold of it themselves, confiscating it as security for debts, real or alleged, owed by Jews to the community or private persons, or seizing it as a contribution to the public services; for the administration of the cities was largely financed by contributions made by the officers annually chosen to manage the several departments, and it was argued that if the Jews refused individually to take offices because their tenure involved participation in pagan rites the cities had a right to compensation from their common funds. The cities also indulged in various forms of petty persecution. Citizens would cite Jews before the courts on the Sabbath day, knowing that they could not appear, and obtain judgement against them by default. The authorities would refuse the right of assembly to the Jewish community and prosecute the chiefs of the synagogue for maintaining an unlicensed club. They also condoned acts of hooliganism—the desecration of synagogues or the theft of the books of the Law deposited in them.

The Roman government on the whole upheld the Jews. As a minority the Jews of the Dispersion were necessarily loyal to the suzerain power whatever the attitude of their co-religionists in Palestine, and they were a useful counterweight to any seditious tendencies in the cities. The tenderness of the Romans to the religious prejudices of the Jews went to remarkable lengths. Jews who were Roman citizens were, for instance, exempt from conscription. Since their consciences forbade them to work or even march on the Sabbath and since army rations were unclean food to them, they were released from a fundamental obligation of Roman citizens. This exemption was, it may be noted, observed even during the civil wars when the rival commanders needed every available man: Josephus has preserved a decree of the consul Lucius

Lentulus pronounced at Ephesus in 49 B.C., at the very moment when he was desperately levying men in Pompey's cause against Caesar, and a letter from Dolabella to the Ephesians (for circulation to the cities of Asia) written in 43 B.C. when he was raising an army against Brutus and Cassius, both affirming the privilege. If the Roman government waived its own rights in favour of the Jews, it was not likely to be very scrupulous about those of others, and in fact it fairly generally enforced on the cities under its dominion respect for Jewish customs. Josephus has preserved a number of letters from Roman governors to Greek cities, ordering them to allow the Jews to hold assemblies, to observe the Sabbath, and in general to follow their ancestral customs in religious matters.

The rulers of Judaea had not infrequently intervened on behalf of their co-religionists abroad. Hyrcanus had, for instance, during Antipater's government sent a delegation to Gaius Rabirius, proconsul of Asia, probably in 48 B.C., in response to which he admonished the cities under his rule of their duty; Dolabella's letter to Ephesus on the question of conscription was also inspired by Hyrcanus. Herod did not neglect this aspect of his duties as king of the Jews and made good use of his influence with the rulers of the Roman world to protect the Dispersion. During his visit to Agrippa in 14 B.C. the Jews of the province of Asia approached him and begged him to take up their cause. Their complaints were the old ones: that they were not allowed to follow the Law, that they were maliciously cited on the Sabbath and holy days, that their names were sent in for the conscription, that they were nominated to public offices involving expenditure, and on this pretext were robbed of the sacred money collected for Jerusalem. Herod conveyed their complaints to Agrippa, and his minister Nicolaus of Damascus made on their behalf a long and eloquent speech which was

reproduced by its proud author *in extenso* in one of his historical works and has survived in the pages of Josephus. Agrippa graciously confirmed all the privileges of the Jews; his letter to Ephesus, which is extant, specified in particular that the Jews were not to be cited on the Sabbath and were to have absolute control over the money collected to go to Jerusalem, and further that those who stole the scriptures and took asylum in a temple were to be forcibly removed from sanctuary and delivered to the Jews. Various other official documents of this period testify to the watchfulness of the imperial government, which was no doubt stimulated by Herod. There is an edict of Augustus to the assembly of the province of Galatia which lays down that the thefts of the sacred scriptures and sacred money should be visited with the penalties of sacrilege. There is a letter of Agrippa to Cyrene, reaffirming the inviolability of the sacred money collected for the temple. The same point is reiterated by two proconsuls of Asia, who cite letters of Augustus and Agrippa.

The very frequency of these letters and edicts, which all harp again and again on the same string, show that it was difficult in view of the hostility of the cities to enforce the law. So long as the Jews remained as unpopular as they were the city authorities, with whom the execution of the law lay, would evade it in one way or another. In particular they would never willingly consent to allow the Jews to dispatch money to Jerusalem; for this was undoubtedly, as the reiteration of edicts on the subject shows, their bitterest grievance. In the light of these facts Herod's benefactions to Greek cities, and particularly the rich gift he gave to the cities of Asia on the same visit to Agrippa on which he secured the confirmation of Jewish privileges, take on a new significance. They may be regarded as a *quid pro quo* for the money which the Jews sent to Jerusalem. Herod may have hoped by his counter-gifts to diminish the irritation caused by the constant





Air view of the Haram al Sharif from the south. See description on p. vii



drain of money out of the cities, and by thus easing communal tension to secure for the Jews of the Dispersion a less grudging observance of their privileges.

Lavish as were Herod's benefactions to the pagan world, they were all eclipsed by one magnificent gift which he gave to the Jewish people, the new temple at Jerusalem. The Jews had hitherto been content with the rather shabby structure which was the best that the exiles had been able to afford on their return from Babylon some five hundred years before. To Herod, with his taste for architectural magnificence, it was a congenial project to rebuild it on a scale more commensurate with the growing wealth of the Jewish people and more worthy of the glory of their God. And here at least it might have been hoped that he would find a point of contact with his people: in such a pious work he would surely have the whole-hearted support of every Jew. But the Jews feared Herod even when he brought them gifts. When in 22 B.C. he announced his design to a national assembly his pronouncement was greeted with suspicious murmurs, and an absurd rumour went round that he would pull down the old temple indeed, but that he would never build a new one. Undeterred, Herod proceeded with his plan, and to reassure public opinion he made full preparations for rebuilding before starting demolition-work. He collected a thousand wagons for the cartage of the stone, enrolled ten thousand workmen, and trained a thousand priests as masons and carpenters; for the Law forbade laymen to enter the temple itself, and Herod was not going to give his critics a chance of raising the cry of sacrilege against him. The work was begun in 20 B.C. and proceeded with a rapidity which was a tribute to Herod's organizing talent and the thoroughness of his preparations. The temple proper was completed in eighteen months and was immediately inaugurated with a magnificent festival at which three hundred oxen were sacrificed. The construction

of the outer courts was a matter of less pressing urgency and was not completed for about eight years.

The temple proper was a most curious structure. For the ground-plan Herod's architects were ordered to accommodate *their design* to the sacrosanct measurements of Solomon's temple as given in the Book of Kings. But for the height Herod was determined to follow the fantastic figure given in the Book of Chronicles, 120 cubits. In the speech in which he announced to the people his project of rebuilding the temple, one of his main points was that the existing structure fell short of the height of Solomon's temple by 60 cubits. In point of fact the temple built by the exiles was probably a fairly exact reproduction of Solomon's—the memory of the old building may well have survived the exile—and the figure in Chronicles is probably a textual corruption. But Herod was not to know this, and he was determined not to be beaten by Solomon, however curious the result of following the recorded dimensions of his temple.

The Holy Place measured as in Solomon's temple 20 cubits wide by 40 cubits long, and the Holy of Holies was like Solomon's a perfect cube, 20 cubits each way. For the height of the Holy Place Herod was obliged, in view of the total height at which he was aiming, to abandon the figure given by the Book of Kings, 30 cubits. He doubled it, thus making the Holy Place three times as high as it was wide and one and a half times as high as it was deep. Its east end was almost entirely occupied by vast folding doors, 55 cubits high and 16 wide. The low opening of the Holy of Holies at its west end would have looked very odd but for the fact that it was always concealed by a veil which covered the whole west wall: externally the Holy of Holies seems to have been brought to uniform height with the Holy Place by superimposed chambers. On the top of the whole block was built a second story, as high again as the Holy Place, and the total

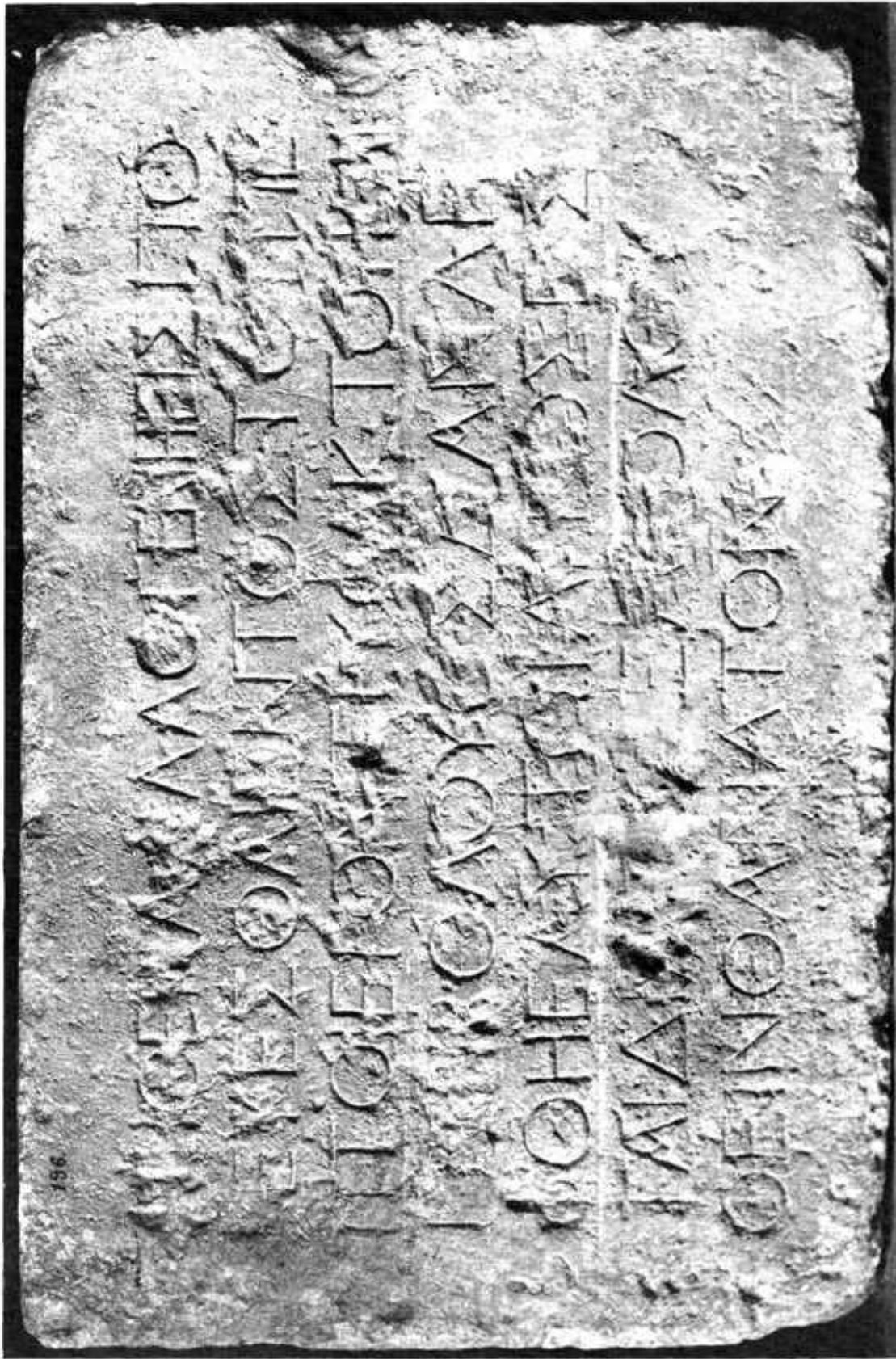
height of the building was thus brought to the apocryphal 120 cubits of the Book of Chronicles. Round this central block, on the north, west, and south sides, were ranged as in Solomon's temple a series of thirty store-chambers in three stories. On the ground-plan they followed the dimensions of the Book of Kings; Herod merely added external corridors to provide easier access to them, thus increasing the over-all width of the building, from north to south, from 50 to 60 cubits. But to balance the increased height of the central block he increased the height of each story from 5 to 20 cubits.

At the east end of the building there was as in Solomon's temple a porch. Here Herod departed considerably from the traditional ground-plan. Solomon's porch had been of the same width as the Holy Place and 12 cubits deep. If Herod was to achieve his height of 120 cubits so narrow a base was impracticable. He did not increase the depth greatly—to 20 cubits only—but he made it 100 cubits wide: it thus stretched out to the north and south 20 cubits beyond the main building. In the centre of the front was a gigantic doorway, 70 cubits high and 25 broad. This opened into a hall open almost to the roof—its height was 95 cubits—which occupied the central 50 cubits of the porch; the two wings of the porch seem to have been filled with rooms to give the whole structure greater stability. The whole building was thus in the form of a T, the cross-bar of which was formed by the porch and the upright by the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies with their upper story. The thickness of the base of this T was about 30 cubits—for the dimensions given seem to be internal and the walls were immensely thick—their height 120, four times as great. The buildings forming the upright were, it is true, abutted by the stone chambers to half their height, but the porch rose sheer on three sides. The whole structure was a fantastic *tour de force* and must have presented

a most startling appearance, more like a modern skyscraper than any known building of antiquity.

No expense was spared in the materials of the structure or in its decoration. It was built after the manner of many Syrian temples—Baalbek is a striking example which still survives—of huge blocks of stone; Josephus gives as typical dimensions of a single block 45 by 6 by 5 cubits. The stone employed was a brilliant white marble; Josephus compares the general aspect of the building seen at a distance to a mountain covered with snow. The east front of the Holy Place was plated with gold which reflected the rays of the rising sun with dazzling splendour. The great folding doors of the Holy Place were likewise plated with gold, and across them was drawn a magnificent embroidered veil whose four colours typified the four elements. Over the doorway hung a giant golden vine—replacing that which Aristobulus had given to Pompey—whose clusters were as large as men.

The temple stood in the middle of a complex of courts. To the east of it lay the great altar of sacrifice, a cubical edifice 15 cubits each way, built, according to the prescriptions of the Law, of unhewn stone, and approached by a ramp—steps were forbidden. The temple and the altar were enclosed by a low balustrade a cubit high. The space enclosed by this balustrade was known as the Court of the Priests, and no layman might enter it except in order to sacrifice. This Court of the Priests lay within the Court of Israel, to which male Israelites alone had access, and adjoining the Court of Israel on the east on a slightly lower level was the smaller Court of the Women, beyond which Israelite women might not penetrate. These two courts were surrounded by walls 25 cubits high, pierced at intervals by gates, three on the north and on the south of the Court of Israel, one on the north and one on the south of the Court of the Women, one in the centre of the party wall between the courts, and one



One of the Greek inscriptions from the boundary wall of the inner Temple enclosure (now in the Istanbul Museum): See description on p. vii

larger and more magnificent than the rest in the east wall of the Court of the Women. The gates took the form of towers, projecting inwards into the courts. The intervals between them along the inner sides of the boundary wall were colonnades, off which opened a series of chambers, store-rooms for the material needed for sacrifice, a bakehouse for the shew-bread, treasuries, administrative offices, and so forth; in one of these the Sanhedrin held its sessions. The whole block of buildings hitherto described stood on a raised platform. From the gates one descended by flights of five steps to a broad walk, 10 cubits wide, which surrounded the whole complex except on the west or back side, and from this walk a continuous range of fourteen steps led down to ground-level. At the foot of the steps ran a boundary wall, pierced at intervals with doors and set with stone pillars bearing inscriptions in Greek and Latin, proclaiming the penalty of death to any gentile who should venture to pass beyond it.

For these buildings, being of a less sacrosanct character, Herod was able to adopt a more orthodox architectural style. The colonnades seem to have been built in the regular classical orders, the gates probably followed the normal form of a classical propylaea; Josephus expatiates on the exhedrae which flanked the entrance-way and the huge columns which carried their inner architraves. But it was upon the outer court, to which gentiles were admitted, that Herod lavished his magnificence. The sacred enclosure proper stood in the middle of a yet larger enclosure. Before Herod began his operations this enclosure had been roughly square, measuring 200 yards each way. Herod almost doubled its area, extending it southwards till it assumed an oblong shape. This work was enormously expensive, since it involved building out huge substructures on the sloping southern front of the temple hill. The final result was most impressive, the temple platform standing out with sheer outer walls on its south,

east, and west sides. All round the enlarged outer court Herod built huge colonnades. The west, north, and east colonnades were double; the columns were 25 cubits high. Along the south side, on the extreme edge of the platform which he had constructed, he built the yet more magnificent Royal Colonnade. It had three aisles and four ranges of columns, the fourth range being engaged with the back wall. The lateral aisles were 30 feet wide and 50 feet high; the central aisle was half as wide again and double the height. The shafts of the columns were throughout monoliths of white marble, 5 feet in diameter and 40 in height; the capitals were in the Corinthian order. The ceilings were in cedar-wood, coffered and richly carved and covered with gold leaf.

Herod had surpassed the mythical glories of Solomon. An incident in the latter part of his reign was to show how grateful his people were to him for his great achievement.



## IV

### HEROD'S LAST YEARS

**H**EROD would have died a happier man and left a less lurid memory behind him had his life been shortened by ten years. During the last decade of his reign his powers were failing. He was growing old—he was close on seventy when he died—and the strain and anxiety of his reign had aged him prematurely. He was losing his grip; he tended to vacillate and postpone a decision. At the same time the defects of his character became markedly exaggerated. He had never been so patient of opposition as his father; he now allowed himself to be goaded into foolish excesses. His ruthless severity, exacerbated by a consciousness of his impotence, degenerated into vindictive savagery. Above all, his suspicion, always his weakest point, grew to the pitch of mania. Moreover, during these last ten years a series of misfortunes crowded upon him. Owing to what was largely a misunderstanding he lost the confidence of Augustus, and despite a nominal reconciliation never regained it. Despite all his attempts to conciliate them, his only supporters, the Pharisees, turned against him. But the greatest of all his troubles arose from the feuds of his own family, which, for long dormant after the death of Mariamme, burst out again with the growth of her sons to manhood.

In order to understand the long and tortuous course of sordid intrigues which poisoned Herod's last years it is necessary to review his somewhat complicated family relations. Herod had one sister, Salome. She is not portrayed in our sources as an amiable character. Jealous and vindictive, she had pursued Mariamme, whose influence with her brother she envied and whose outspoken disdain for herself she bitterly resented, with relentless hatred, and it was to her



indefatigable intrigues that Mariamme owed her disgrace and death. She had few scruples and rarely allowed sentimental considerations to stand in her way. She callously sacrificed her first husband, her uncle Joseph, to her schemes against Mariamme. Her second husband, Costobar, she also delivered to the executioner, but in this case her motive was, if her own account is the true one—and the facts do suggest that Costobar was plotting against Herod—more estimable. The one redeeming feature in Salome's character is her sturdy loyalty to her brother. She was willing to make his life a torment to him to induce him to strike down her rivals—and even here she no doubt considered that she was acting for his own good in freeing him from bad influences—but never would she consent to any scheme which was aimed against his life or his power.

After the death of Costobar occurred the one romance of her life. Syllaeus, the vizier of the Nabataean king, saw her at a public banquet when on a diplomatic mission to Jerusalem. He fell in love with her and she with him, and a few months later Syllaeus returned to Jerusalem and formally asked her hand of Herod. The match seemed in every way suitable. The relations between Herod and the Nabataean kingdom, of which Syllaeus was in effect the absolute ruler, had been strained ever since the Auranitis dispute. A marriage alliance was the regular panacea for such disagreements, and in this particular case, where the parties immediately concerned were genuinely attached to one another, might have been really effective. Unhappily a hitch arose. Herod, in deference to Jewish opinion, made it a rule that any gentile who married into his family must adopt the Jewish faith. Syllaeus could not stomach this; he declared, probably with truth, that his political position at home would be endangered. So the match was broken off. Syllaeus, embittered by his rebuff, renewed his intrigues against Herod

with increased animosity. Salome, cruelly disappointed and wounded by the malicious gossip of the court, which declared that she had been indiscreetly generous of her favours to her faithless lover, retired from public life, cherishing a not unnatural resentment against her brother. Herod endeavoured to console her with another husband, a certain Alexas who was one of his prominent supporters. She for long refused the offer, but eventually, largely owing to the influence of the empress Livia, who was her personal friend, she was reconciled with her brother and married Alexas. She lived amicably enough for many years with her new husband, who seems to have been a rather colourless character.

Herod had only one surviving brother, Pheroras; his eldest brother Phasael had been killed by the Parthians in 40 B.C. and another, Joseph, had fallen in the war against Antigonus not long after. Pheroras was made of very different stuff from either his brother or his sister. Obstinate he could be at times, but he was essentially a weak character, always under the influence of some more dominating personality. He never played a part of his own in the complicated maze of intrigue which surrounded his brother; he was always what his character eminently suited him to be, the catspaw of abler and more determined players, who exploited his vanity and his complete lack of principle for their own ends. He was used in turn by Salome and Antipater; towards the end of his life he fell completely under the dominance of his second wife. Herod had originally married him to the sister of his own first wife Doris, but she had died young. Herod had next betrothed to him Salampsio, his eldest daughter by Mariamme, with whom he gave a dowry of 300 talents. Pheroras had, however, meanwhile become enamoured of one of his slave girls, and his open display of his infatuation angered his brother, who regarded it as a slight to his royal bride-to-be. When his protests proved unavailing Herod broke off the

match, and gave his daughter instead to Phasael, the son of his eldest brother. Relations were naturally strained between the brothers after this, and it was alleged by informers that Pheroras was plotting to poison Herod. This charge was not substantiated, but in the course of unravelling the Costobar conspiracy it was proved that Pheroras had planned to escape with his mistress to Parthia. After these revelations a reconciliation followed. Herod, repenting of the severity which had almost driven his brother into exile, was extraordinarily generous, securing for him from Augustus the title of tetrarch in 20 B.C. and assigning to him as his portion the Peraea with its revenue of 100 talents. This generosity did not have the results that might have been hoped for. Pheroras' mistress, whom he later married, with her sister and her mother acquired a complete ascendancy over him. She was a scheming woman with ambitions of her own for her husband and her children, but she had not the ability to cope with such masters of intrigue as Salome and Antipater, and she, too, unwittingly allowed herself and her husband to be used as their instruments.

Herod had one son, Antipater, by his first wife Doris, whom he had put away on his marriage with Mariamme. Doris had naturally bitterly resented her own arbitrary dismissal and the disinheritance of her son, and she had brought him up to hate his supplanters, the sons of her own detested rival Mariamme. Antipater had grown up soured by a sense of injury and resolved by hook or by crook to get his revenge and regain his neglected rights. To the attainment of these ends he brought many gifts. He was hampered by no moral scruples and no tender feelings. He was a past-master of intrigue and had an uncanny power of making others do his dirty work for him. He was above all a supreme actor and could perfectly conceal his true feelings from his victims and his tools alike; his aunt Salome alone he could not deceive.

By Mariamme Herod had (besides a son who died in infancy) two sons and two daughters. The daughters, Salampsio and Cyprus, do not figure in the game save as pawns. The two sons, to whom Herod gave the Hasmonaean names of Alexander and Aristobulus, were to be the principal victims. Despite their mother's disgrace Herod from the first treated them as his heirs. In this preference he was probably prompted both by reasons of state and by natural affection. They were the last surviving males of the Hasmonaean line, and on their accession the Antipatrid and Hasmonaean dynasties would be united. He had loved Mariamme with all the strength of his nature, and though in a passion of jealousy he had killed her he still cherished her memory. He sent the two boys to Rome to be educated. They lived with Pollio, an intimate of the imperial house, and were brought into close contact with Augustus and his family and the leading men of the imperial circle; the connexions they thus formed would prove useful when they came to the throne. When in 17 B.C., their education concluded, he brought them back from Rome, he arranged suitable marriages for them. For Alexander, the elder, he negotiated a splendid match with Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Aristobulus, in the hope of welding his family together by closer bands, he married to his first cousin Berenice, the daughter of Salome.

After Mariamme's death Herod consoled himself liberally. In the latter part of his reign he had, in addition to Doris, eight other wives—polygamy was permitted under Jewish law. Some of these hardly figure in history. Two were his nieces—their very names are unknown—the daughters of Salome and of one of his brothers. By them he had no issue. Of two others, Phaedra and Elpis, nothing is known save that they each gave him a daughter, named respectively Roxana and Salome. Pallas, though she also bore him a son, Phasaël, is equally obscure. The remaining three are more important.

Cleopatra, a Jewess of Jerusalem, bore him two sons, Philip, the future tetrarch, and Herod. Mariamme, the Jewess of Alexandria, whose father Herod made high priest, bore him one son, Herod. Malthace, a Samaritan woman, was the mother of a daughter, Olympias, and two sons, Archelaus and Antipas, both destined to reign. These wives and their sons play a part, though a minor one, in the family intrigue.

The trouble began when Alexander and Aristobulus were back at home, recognized as the destined heirs. Their position was a delicate one. They were the idols of the people, not only as the last representatives of the Hasmonaean house and the sons of the martyred Mariamme, but also for their personal qualities; they had inherited their mother's good looks, and their handsome persons and aristocratic bearing had a strong popular appeal. Comparisons were not unnaturally made between them and their father, and hopes were expressed that the old tyrant might soon give way to the young princes, who were so different from him in every way. The utmost tact was obviously required if Herod's suspicious temperament was not to be alarmed; Alexander and Aristobulus *should have borne themselves modestly and given no handle for complaint*. Their position was all the more delicate because if they were beloved by the people they had many potential enemies in high places. Their brothers might hope to supplant them, and the mothers of their brothers would naturally work for their own sons. The enemies of their mother would also look upon them with dislike and mistrust. It is human nature to hate those whom one has injured, and if one's victims are in a position of power, fear is added to hatred. Alexander and his brother should therefore in common prudence have been friendly and conciliatory to their relatives and should have demonstrated clearly that they intended to let bygones be bygones. Unhappily they inherited not only their mother's good looks but her haughty

temperament. They showed only too clearly their pride in their royal descent, and snubbed their plebeian brothers unmercifully. They talked too freely of the sad fate of their mother, and were openly hostile to their aunt Salome. Nor did the marriages which their father had so hopefully arranged for them mend matters. Glaphyra was excessively proud of her noble descent; for though her father was a recent creation, having only been made king of Cappadocia by Antony, he came of a very ancient Irano-Macedonian family. Glaphyra never let any one forget that she was descended on the one hand from Darius the son of Hystaspes and on the other from the royal house of Macedon. She treated her Antipatrid relations-in-law with the deepest disdain, and she egged on Alexander to do the same. Aristobulus, on the other hand, *made no attempt to gain the affection of Salome's daughter* but treated her with brutal contempt. This behaviour incensed Salome yet more against the brothers. It also gave her a useful ally in the enemies' camp. For Berenice naturally made her mother the confidant of her matrimonial troubles and supplied her with *inside information on what her husband was doing and saying.*

By this foolish behaviour Alexander and Aristobulus at the same time embittered their enemies and gave them the means to undermine their position. Salome was naturally the leader of the attack; as the arch-enemy of their mother she both hated them and feared their revenge. Pheroras, who had no particular reason to hate the young men, was thrown into Salome's arms by their tactless insolence, and became her docile instrument. The two parties were unevenly matched. The young men were rash and outspoken. Salome was a past-master of intrigue. It was not difficult to twist their outspoken defence of their mother and their snubbing references to their Antipatrid relatives into a treasonable form. They were alleged to have said—and may well have said—

they would be avenged on their mother's murderers; and it was after all Herod who had passed the death-sentence. They declared that their brothers had no right to the throne; did not the same objection apply to their father? Glaphyra seems also to have boasted of her father's influence with Augustus. Did this mean that the brothers intended to gain Archelaus' support to oust their father? After this it needed but a little imagination to suggest that they were plotting their father's murder. Stories to this effect were put into circulation and were sedulously retailed to Herod by his secret agents. Gradually his mind was poisoned and he began to distrust his sons. After his return from his visit to Agrippa in 14 B.C., Salome thought the time was ripe for an open move. She and Pheroras went to Herod and told him that they had long been anxious for his safety and that they now felt it to be their duty, painful though it was to them, to warn him that Alexander and Aristobulus were plotting against him. The warning tallied so well with the apparently independent reports of his agents that Herod was shaken. But he was not fully convinced, and was unwilling to take any open action on hearsay; but he determined to give Alexander and his brother a hint that their position depended on his favour and not on their rights through their mother, and that if they did not give evidence of their complete loyalty to him they might lose the succession. He accordingly called up to court his eldest son, Antipater.

Antipater's recall to court was disastrous to any hope of peace. He soon insinuated himself into his father's favour, and as soon as it became clear which way the wind was blowing he found no difficulty in building up a party of supporters, who, in anticipation of future rewards, put their services at his disposal. These hangers-on kept up the campaign of scandal about the sons of Mariamme. He himself kept carefully out of it, professing the utmost goodwill to his

younger brothers and championing their cause in such a way as to make it appear that he believed them guilty but was too generous to betray them. They on their side took their humiliation in the worst possible way, complaining of their father's unjust treatment and thus giving rise to further stories of their disloyalty. Herod gradually became more and more distrustful of Alexander and Aristobulus and more and more under the influence of Antipater, and a change in the succession was clearly to be anticipated. The first official intimation of Herod's change of heart came in 13 B.C., when, on Agrippa's return to Rome after his ten years' government of the eastern provinces, he recommended Antipater to him, and sent him in his charge to Rome with letters of introduction to Augustus. Antipater did not allow his absence to interfere with his intrigues. He had secured the recall of his mother Doris before his departure, and she kept him posted of events. He himself wrote frequently from Rome excusing his brothers' conduct and at the same time expressing anxiety for his father's safety. Herod was at length persuaded of their guilt, but being afraid of acting precipitately he resolved to submit the case to the judgement of Augustus. He accordingly sailed to Italy, taking Alexander and Aristobulus with him, and formally charged them before Augustus at Aquileia (12 B.C.). The charges, when they came to be formulated, did not amount to much. He complained of their ingratitude. He had brought them up in every luxury. He had arranged honourable marriages for them. He had treated them openly as his heirs. And how had they rewarded him? They had treated him with hostility. They had forgotten that they owed everything to him, that it was to his favour and not to any rights of inheritance that they owed their position—for he had the absolute disposal of his kingdom. They wished to deprive him of the kingdom which he had earned by his own efforts. They had actually plotted to murder him.



The young men were terrified by their father's anger and probably genuinely horrified that he believed the last charge against them. They burst into tears and remained silent for a long while after their father had concluded his accusation. At length, plucking up courage at the evident sympathy of the court, Alexander made a modest and halting reply. He protested that no such horrible design had entered their minds, that they were grateful for all the benefits they had received, and that even now they appreciated their father's fairness, when he believed such dreadful things of them, in bringing them before an impartial court instead of executing them out of hand. Then, gaining more confidence, he pointed out the lack of evidence. Had any poison been discovered? Had any letters been intercepted? Had any conspiracy been detected? The charge was based on hearsay and on inference. He admitted that they lamented their dead mother. But this did not mean that they were disloyal to their father. He emphatically denied that they had even thought of taking their father's life. Putting aside all considerations of affection and loyalty and taking the question at the lowest level of prudence, would it have been in their interest to do so? They were marked out as his heirs and were bound to succeed him, and meanwhile enjoyed every honour. Would they destroy their own chances by committing a crime which the all-seeing eye of the emperor would be certain to detect and to punish? Finally he threw himself and his brother on his father's mercy, declaring that they would rather die than live under suspicion.

*Not only the court but Herod himself was moved by this speech, and Augustus could see that he was beginning to be ashamed of his weak charges. He summed up tactfully, blaming the young men for having acted in such a manner as to excite the suspicions of a loving father and advising them for the future to behave more dutifully to him, but at*

the same time expressing his absolute conviction that the specific charge brought against them was untrue. Finally he turned to Herod and urged him to receive his sons back into his favour; the young men humbly seconded his appeal; and Herod, amidst the general joy of all present, yielded. Antipater had no alternative but to join in the general rejoicing, and the family party, thus to all appearance happily united, after having been entertained by Augustus, proceeded on their journey. On their way back Herod put in at Elaeussa, which Archelaus had recently refounded under the name of Sebaste and made one of his capitals. Archelaus was overjoyed that the trouble in Herod's family had been settled and that his son-in-law was freed from suspicion. After a short visit and an exchange of gifts Herod proceeded with his sons to Jerusalem. Here he held a national assembly and announced the happy news of the reconciliation, and proclaimed the arrangements for the succession upon which he had decided. Antipater was to be king after his death, Alexander and Aristobulus were to be subordinate kings, apparently with defined territories, under his suzerainty. In the meanwhile he exhorted his family to concord, and reminded his ministers and officers that he was still in the prime of life and hoped to live many years. While he lived he would be king and he alone, and they would do well to bear that fact in mind.

Herod's ingenious compromise between the claim of Antipater and the sons of Mariamme satisfied neither party. Antipater would not rest content with a half-victory: he was determined to eliminate his rivals altogether, and his aunt Salome heartily concurred with him. Alexander and Aristobulus were aggrieved at being relegated to the second place. They had learnt nothing from the dangers through which they had passed, and neglected Augustus' wise advice. They continued to assert their own rights of birth and to disparage their relatives. Their brothers were only fit to be village

clerks, and that was what they would make them when they came into their own. As for their stepmothers, who went about flaunting in the clothes of their beloved mother, they would soon have to wear sackcloth. These remarks were, it is true, made in private. But Antipater had agents in the very households of his rivals, who reported every unguarded word they said to him; and Berenice, Aristobulus' wife, kept her mother, Salome, informed of all communications between her husband and his brother. So the campaign of innuendo and accusation went on, Alexander and Aristobulus supplying ample material for their opponents to work up and to pass on by an indirect channel to the king's ears. But Herod, though he grew to distrust his sons by Mariamme and to treat them coldly, would not be moved to any strong action. Salome at length decided on more drastic methods; if Herod would not believe false charges, she would provoke Alexander and Aristobulus into really committing the crime of which they were accused. The pliant Pheroras was chosen as the *agent provocateur*. He might be expected to win more credence as having recently quarrelled with Herod. The quarrel had arisen over the old question of his marriage. Herod, hoping that his infatuation might be wearing off, had made him a second offer of his younger daughter by Mariamme, Cyprus. Pheroras had been overborne by his brother's urgency and the advice of Salome and of Ptolemy the vizier, who both represented to him that it was unwise to cross his brother yet again and that his wife was a discredit to the royal family. He had divorced his wife and agreed that the marriage with Cyprus should be celebrated in a month's time. During that month he fell again under his wife's influence, and broke off the marriage with Cyprus. It is no wonder then that he was out of favour with his brother. The story that Pheroras told to Alexander was that Herod was carrying on an amour with Glaphyra. Alexander was credulous enough to believe him:

Herod was, in fact, fond of Glaphyra and treated her with a kindness which perhaps contrasted rather ungraciously with his coldness to Alexander. Unfortunately for Salome's plan Alexander's reaction was not what she expected. She had calculated on his doing what any Antipatrid would have done, forming a plot—which would be detected—to kill his father. Instead he rushed straight to his father and accused him to his face. It was thus revealed who had told him the story. Herod summoned Pheroras and denounced him furiously for making so outrageous a charge against himself and inflaming Alexander against him. Pheroras was flabbergasted and tried to pass on the blame to Salome. Salome turned in fury upon him for betraying her, hotly denied his accusation and declared it due to spite, because she had taken Herod's side in the matter of Cyprus. Herod was unconvinced and dismissed them both from the court. Alexander was received back into favour for having taken a straightforward line and brought his complaint to Herod instead of plotting a secret revenge.

Meanwhile the king had other worries. Herod's Trachonite subjects found his efficient rule very galling. He prevented them from pursuing their habitual avocation of robbery and forced them to live by agriculture, a pursuit which they considered beneath their dignity and which was both laborious and unprofitable. In 12 B.C., during his visit to Italy to accuse Alexander and Aristobulus, encouraged by a rumour that he was dead, they broke into revolt. The rebellion was easily crushed by Herod's generals, but about forty of the chiefs made good their escape into Nabataean territory. Syllaeus, who still resented the donation of Auranitis to Herod after Zenodorus had sold it to him, and, moreover, bore him a personal grudge for rejecting his suit for Salome, welcomed them and gave them a fortress whence they raided Herod's dominions in all security. Unable to get at the

principals, Herod retaliated by massacring their relatives, but this only made matters worse by creating an implacable blood feud. Herod endured this state of affairs for a year or two. He made unavailing complaints to Saturninus, the legate of Syria, and Volumnius the procurator. He next endeavoured to put financial pressure on Syllaëus, demanding the repayment of a loan of 60 talents which had fallen due. Syllaëus put him off and met all demands for the extradition of the robbers with denials of their existence. Meanwhile the robbers gained in strength, malcontents from Herod's dominions flocking to them till they numbered upwards of a thousand. At length, in 10 B.C., Herod formally cited Syllaëus before Saturninus and Volumnius. Syllaëus appeared and was ordered to repay the loan and deliver Herod's subjects to him within thirty days. The thirty days passed and Syllaëus failed to fulfil the order of the court. Herod again approached Saturninus and received authorization to make a distraint for the debt and seize the robbers. He marched into Nabataean territory and assaulted and captured Raeptha, the robber stronghold. *He beat off a Nabataean force which came to the rescue*; its general Naceb and about twenty men were killed in the engagement. He then marched home carrying with him his prisoners and the loot which had been stored in the fortress.

Syllaëus, anticipating trouble, had gone off to Rome. Directly the news of these events arrived, he lodged a protest with Augustus. The dominions of his aged master, King Obedas, had been invaded; 2,500 of his subjects had been killed, including Naceb, a noble of the rank of friend and kinsman. A fortress had been captured and the treasure deposited in it seized. He appealed for the protection of his suzerain. Augustus was deeply incensed at this flagrant breach of the peace. He demanded of Herod's diplomatic agent whether it was true that Herod had led an army into Arabia.

On receiving an affirmative answer he refused to hear any excuses; Herod had been the aggressor and that was enough. He wrote a severe letter to Herod, informing him that their friendship was at an end and that in future he would treat him as a subject. He seems to have withdrawn on this occasion the right he had granted to Herod of nominating his successors.

This at any rate is the story as told by Josephus, who derived his information from Nicolaus of Damascus, who later acted as Herod's ambassador and cleared up the imbroglio. It is rather difficult to believe that Augustus was quite so unreasonable, and it may be that Herod's invasion was not quite so small an affair as Nicolaus represents it; the legal preliminaries are, however, unlikely to be fictitious, as Nicolaus would not have ventured to misrepresent the actions of Roman officials who would still have been living when he published his history. It seems, on the whole, likely that Herod interpreted his permission to take armed action too liberally. On the other hand, it is possible that Augustus had other reasons for taking so severe a line. He may have thought that Herod was growing too independent and needed a rap on the knuckles, and it is possible that the reason for his dissatisfaction was the rebuilding of the temple, whose completion had recently been celebrated with great *éclat*. Augustus did not hold with the Jewish religion—he later publicly commended his grandson Gaius Caesar for not paying a complimentary visit to the temple when he was passing through Judaea—and he may have thought that Herod's glorification of the national god of the Jews had dangerous political implications. Be that as it may, Herod had lost the favour of the imperial government, and this fact, when it became generally known, reacted disastrously on his prestige. The Trachonites rose once again in rebellion, overpowering the garrison of 3,000 Idumaeans whom Herod had

planted in their country after the suppression of their first revolt.

Meanwhile Herod's family affairs had taken a turn for the worse. On this occasion Alexander was responsible. He had by handsome gifts seduced three of Herod's favourite eunuchs, his butler and his cupbearer and his chamberlain. This fact of course came to light, and the three eunuchs were put to the torture. They confessed to their criminal relations with Alexander. Upon further examination they also confessed that Alexander had spoken to them freely of his hatred of his father, and had confidently predicted that he would not live much longer—he was older than he looked and dyed his hair to conceal his age. Alexander was further alleged to have declared that on his father's death he would be king despite all arrangements to the contrary, as he had influential backing and was in particular sure of the support of the army. There was nothing very damning in this, but the suggestion of a conspiracy filled Herod with alarm. He kept the information quiet, and set his secret agents to ferret out who was involved in it. Persons suspected of favouring Alexander were arrested and tortured. The results were unpromising, but Herod persisted, convinced that the silence of the accused was due to loyalty to Alexander and not to the non-existence of any plot. At length more compromising evidence was wrung out of one young man. His first confession was that Alexander had complained of his father's jealousy and declared that when he walked beside him he was obliged to stoop in order not to emphasize his greater height, and when he went hunting with him he missed his shots deliberately in order not to provoke him by his superior skill. On this admission he was further tortured and at length confessed that Alexander and Aristobulus were planning to kill Herod when out hunting and then to escape to Rome and claim the kingdom. Letters of Alexander were also discovered in which he complained

of his father's unfair favouritism in giving Antipater lands producing a revenue of 200 talents. On this evidence Herod arrested Alexander. On reflection, however, he felt some doubts of the reliability of the evidence; the story of the plot was very naïve—would Alexander be so foolish as to murder him and then go openly to Rome to claim the kingdom? Further arrests and examinations took place, and presently another young man confessed to a different story, that Alexander had written to his friends in Rome asking them to inform Augustus that he had information affecting his safety, and that he intended when he had been summoned to Rome to inform Augustus that his father was plotting with Mithridates, king of Parthia. The young man also on further pressure confessed that Alexander had poison in readiness at Ascalon.

The two halves of the story were obviously inconsistent; and no trace of the poison at Ascalon could be found. But Herod accepted the first half of the story as true. Alexander, despairing of clearing himself, resolved that if he was to die he would involve his enemies in his ruin. He wrote a long and circumstantial confession—it took four papyrus rolls—admitting that he had plotted against his father and naming a large number of accomplices. These included Pheroras, Salome (whom he further accused of having had criminal conversation with him), and a large number of Herod's most faithful supporters, among whom Ptolemy the vizier and one Sapinnus are named. Antipater did not figure on the list. It is hardly credible that Alexander was still unaware of his machinations against him, but presumably he had to omit some names for the sake of verisimilitude; Antipater, being in full favour, was not a plausible conspirator, whereas Pheroras and Salome, having recently quarrelled with Herod, were less unlikely.

At this point Archelaus determined to intervene on behalf of his son-in-law. On his arrival at Jerusalem (9 B.C.) he saw



that it was impossible to try to defend Alexander openly. In Herod's present frame of mind such a line would merely convince him that Archelaus was in the plot and destroy any influence he still had with him. He accordingly expressed the deepest sympathy with Herod for the ingratitude of his children and the most violent abhorrence for Alexander's conduct. He declared that he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with him, and that if she should prove to be implicated he would not spare her. He took so violent a line that Herod was provoked into defending his son. Archelaus flattered him for his long-suffering and merciful temperament, and having got him into a more reasonable frame of mind began to suggest that though of course there was no doubt that Alexander was guilty, it was improbable that a headstrong young man would have concocted so cunning a plot unless instigated by some older and more experienced person. That person he suggested was Pheroras, and he gradually got Herod to believe that Alexander was the innocent cat's-paw of that arch-schemer. The unhappy Pheroras was terrified and, humbly approaching Archelaus, begged him to reconcile him with his brother. Archelaus replied that he bore him no malice and would do his best for him, but that Pheroras must make a full confession. What Pheroras confessed is obscure, but it was enough to clear Alexander and not enough to compromise himself hopelessly. Archelaus took advantage of the general relaxation of tension to induce Herod to forgive his brother as well as his son, and having effected this happy conciliation returned to Cappadocia.

This reconciliation was even more short-lived than that produced by Augustus. The trouble was started again by one Eurycles of Sparta. This person was an adventurer who made his living by toadying and making mischief in the courts of the Levant. Having obtained an introduction from Archelaus, he insinuated himself into Herod's favour, and

became very friendly with Antipater. He also, as a friend of Archelaus, cultivated Glaphyra's friendship and won the confidence of Alexander. Alexander confided his woes to him, that Antipater had alienated his father from him and supplanted him in the succession. This conversation Eurycles retailed to Antipater, with further suggestions that Alexander would murder him if he had the chance. He then went to Herod and told the same story. Having collected presents from all parties for his friendly aid—Herod gave him 50 talents—he departed in haste to Archelaus and collected some more from him as having reconciled Glaphyra and Alexander to Herod. It is consoling to record that he later received his reward and died in exile.

Suspensions were now aroused once more, and Herod's secret agents were set to work again. They reported that another Greek visitor, Euaratus of Cos, was intriguing with Alexander. They also threw suspicion on two officers who had been dismissed by Herod and whom Alexander had very unwisely taken into his service. These two men, Jucundus and Tyrannius, were arrested and put to the torture: and at length confessed that Alexander had tried to induce them to kill Herod when out hunting. The murder was to be staged as an accident: Herod was to be killed with one of his own spears and it was to be given out that he had transfixed himself in falling from his horse—a similar accident had actually occurred and had nearly been fatal. Jucundus and Tyrannius involved in their confession the king's master of the hunt, who was alleged to have given them and other agents of Alexander royal spears. The commander of the fortress of Alexandrium was also arrested and tortured. He confessed nothing, but his son, in order to spare his father, made a confession. His father had promised to receive Alexander and his brother at the fortress and give them the money stored there. In corroboration he produced a letter from Alexander

which ran: 'when we have with God's aid done all that we propose we will come to you; try, as you promise, to receive us in the fortress'. Alexander declared that the letter was a forgery by Diophantus, the king's secretary, who had been instigated by Antipater. Diophantus was subsequently convicted of other forgeries and was executed, but it is quite possible that the letter was genuine: a forgery would have been less vaguely worded. Even if it was genuine, however, it proved no more than what Alexander subsequently confessed, that, despairing of his life, he was planning to make his escape to Archelaus and with his support to make an appeal to Rome.

The king now brought Alexander and Aristobulus and their alleged accomplices before an assembly at Jericho. Who composed the assembly is obscure: presumably it was a gathering of representative notables. The proceedings were tumultuous and the assembly stoned the accomplices and would have stoned the principals had not the king, supported by his vizier Ptolemy and his brother Pheroras, intervened. It was alleged with some plausibility that Antipater had packed the assembly and that it was his supporters who created the uproar. Alexander and Aristobulus were now imprisoned separately and ordered to make full confessions. They wrote that they had never plotted to murder their father, but that, despairing of their lives, they had resolved to make their escape from the kingdom. Herod suspected that Archelaus was involved in the conspiracy, and when an ambassador, one Melas, arrived from him, he confronted him with Alexander. Alexander admitted that he had intended to take refuge with Archelaus and with his support to make an appeal to Rome. Glaphyra, being confronted with Melas and Alexander, made the same confession. Herod now composed letters to Archelaus and to Augustus. That to Archelaus accused him of complicity in his son-in-law's disloyal designs; that to Augustus

contained the evidence that he had collected against his sons and asked leave to punish them. The letter to Archelaus was dispatched at once and a reply soon came. Archelaus admitted that he had consented to give asylum to Alexander and Aristobulus, but declared that he had done so in order to protect Herod from himself; he denied that he had promised to make representations on their behalf at Rome. The letter to Augustus required more delicate handling. The ambassadors who carried it, Volumnius and Olympus, were ordered to take stock of the diplomatic situation on their arrival in Rome and to await a favourable opportunity of presenting it.

Herod had in the meanwhile been making every effort to right himself with Augustus. He was aided by the turn which events had taken in the Nabataean kingdom. The old king Obedas, who had been completely under Syllaeus' influence, had died shortly after the Raeptha incident, and one Aeneas, who was an enemy of Syllaeus, had during his absence seized the throne, taking the royal name of Aretas. Aretas' position was irregular, for on Obedas' death the decision of the Roman government should have been awaited: a client king had only a life tenure, and it was open to the suzerain power on his death to annex, to confirm the heir apparent, or to appoint a king of its choice. Augustus had actually not intended to continue the old royal line; its loyalty to Rome was very dubious and it had proved itself incapable of keeping its own house in order. He had at one time thought of adding the Nabataean kingdom to Herod's dominions: Herod was through his mother Cyprus allied with the Nabataean royal family, and what was more important he was—at the time in question—of unquestionable loyalty and had shown his capacity in dealing with unruly tribes in Trachonitis and Auranitis. Herod was now out of the question, but Augustus was none the less annoyed at Aretas' presumption in taking the whole question of the succession out of his hands by his

precipitate seizure of the throne. When, therefore, ambassadors arrived from him bringing a crown of gold and asking for confirmation, Syllaeus, who was still at Rome in high favour, had little difficulty in persuading Augustus to refuse them a reception. Aretas, thus rebuffed, found his position extremely precarious, and he was naturally drawn to take up a conciliatory attitude to Herod, who was also out of favour at Rome and owed his disgrace to the same enemy, Syllaeus. It was at this stage that Herod determined to make another effort to right himself with Augustus and sent his most trusted adviser, the philosopher, historian, and diplomatist Nicolaus of Damascus, to plead his cause. Nicolaus, on reaching Rome, got into touch with Aretas' ambassadors and suggested that the line they should take was an accusation of Syllaeus. Nicolaus himself acted as their spokesman. He presented a long list of charges. Syllaeus had procured the death of many members of the Nabataean nobility, even of the royal family; it was even suggested—most implausibly—that he had murdered Obedas. He was a man of notoriously immoral life and had debauched scores of Arabian and even some Roman ladies—this was a subtle appeal to Augustus' well-known zeal as a moral reformer. He was involved in shady financial transactions. Above all he had by grave misrepresentations poisoned the mind of Augustus against his loyal subject Herod. Here Augustus sharply called Nicolaus to order and asked whether or not it was true that Herod had led an army into Arabia, killed 2,500 men, and carried off prisoners and loot. Nicolaus, assured of the support of the Arabian delegation, boldly asserted that the charges were either untrue or grossly exaggerated. He then proceeded to give the story outlined on a previous page, throwing the question of the debt into the foreground and insisting on the fact that since Syllaeus had sworn to fulfil the order of the court by Augustus and the other gods, he was guilty of the combined crimes of sacri-

lege and high treason. The bond for the debt was produced, and the decision of the Roman officials, and letters from the cities of Syria complaining of the depredations of the brigands. Augustus' wrath was now turned on Syllaëus, who was ordered to repay the money owed. Herod was received back into favour and Augustus now thought of compensating him by granting him the kingdom of Arabia as he had once intended. Unfortunately Volumnius and Olympus thought it opportune at this moment to present their letter. On reading it Augustus promptly changed his mind; Herod was clearly getting too old and crotchety to be trusted with so large a responsibility as the kingdom of Arabia. He summoned Aretas' ambassadors, received their gifts, and after a homily on his presumption in seizing the throne without prior authorization from himself confirmed Aretas as king.

To Herod he wrote a sympathetic and, as he hoped, calming letter. He expressed sorrow at the ingratitude of his sons and gave him authority to take such measures as he thought fit against them. If they were really guilty of conspiring against his life, they were worthy of death. But if they had only planned to escape, they should merely be reprimanded. Finally he advised Herod to give the case a full and unbiased hearing and for that purpose to assemble at the colony of Berytus a representative court, which he suggested might include the Roman officials of the province, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and other persons of standing besides members of his own privy council.

Herod accepted this advice in letter though not in spirit. In 7 B.C. a large and representative court was instituted at Berytus, comprising about 150 persons. It included Gaius Sentius Saturninus, the legate of Syria, his three sons, who were serving on his staff, another member of his staff, Pedanius, Volumnius, the procurator of Syria, and other Roman officials; notables from the cities of Syria and minor dynasts

of the province; and Herod's 'kinsmen' and 'friends' with whom sat Pheroras and Salome. Archelaus, against whom Herod felt the bitterest resentment, was not invited. Imposing though the court was, the proceedings were a travesty of justice. Alexander and Aristobulus were not even produced, but were kept in custody near by at the village of Platana in Sidonian territory. No case for the defence was presented. Herod made a violent speech denouncing the ingratitude and wickedness of his sons. He had full authority from the emperor to punish them. According to Jewish law if a parent condemned his children it was the duty of the bystanders to slay them forthwith. He invited those present to do their duty by expressing their condemnation of the accused. The court weakly yielded. It seemed hopeless to induce the king to give the case a fair hearing; he had full authority to inflict the extreme penalty on his sons and he was obviously determined to do so. Saturninus pronounced his condemnation, but urged clemency; he was a father himself and he felt it horrible to put one's own sons to death. His three sons expressed the same view. Volumnius more logically advocated the death penalty, and most of the other members of the court followed his lead. Herod was satisfied and started home, taking his sons with him. At Tyre he was met by Nicolaus, who had just returned from Rome, and asked him what the feeling about the case was in Rome. Nicolaus replied that the general view was that, even if Alexander and Aristobulus were guilty, Herod would be well advised if he exercised moderation. The wisest course would be to pardon them. If he could not bring himself to that, he might keep them in prison. But to put them to death would be regarded as savage and vindictive. Herod was somewhat dashed at this news, and began to hesitate. He moved on to Caesarea, taking his sons with him.

In his own kingdom there was general sympathy for Alexander and Aristobulus, and feeling was running very high

not only among the Jews but also in the Greek cities and in the army; for the young princes were universally popular. At Caesarea there was one man who dared to voice the general indignation. He was a retired officer, named Tero, an old friend of Herod, and he had a son who was a contemporary and friend of Alexander. He admired and respected the old king and he had a great affection for the young princes; and he took their tragic estrangement greatly to heart. At length he took his courage in both hands and asked for a private audience. He spoke frankly to the king as a brother officer and an old friend. He could not understand what had come over the king. Why did he allow himself to be led by the nose by a pack of scheming courtiers? Could not he see who was at the back of it all? Salome and Pheroras, of course. Why Herod trusted them he could not understand; he had experience enough of their underhand ways. What they wanted was to get Alexander and Aristobulus out of the way so as to put in their creature Antipater. Was he going to sacrifice the sons of Mariamme, who had every virtue that befits princes, to the schemes of that unsavoury crew?

Herod was moved by the outspoken reproaches of his old comrade in arms. Unhappily Tero did not stop at this point. The country, he went on, would not stand it. Could not Herod see how blank and sullen every one looked? The army was with the young princes to a man; all the officers he knew were very bitter on the question. And he proceeded very rashly to give instances. Herod at once nosed a conspiracy and ordered Tero and his son and the officers he had named to be arrested. His suspicions were soon confirmed by one of the court barbers, who gave himself up and confessed he had been suborned by Tero to cut the king's throat when shaving him, and had been promised great rewards from Alexander. He was put to the torture, as were Tero himself and his son. Tero could not be induced to say anything, but



his son, unable to endure his father's agonies, offered a full confession. His confession was that Tero had intended to murder the king during the private audience.

Herod now had no further doubts. He accused the barber, Tero and his son, and 300 officers who had been arrested for disaffection before an assembly. They were duly stoned. Alexander and Aristobulus he ordered to be sent to Sebaste and there strangled; their bodies were buried at Alexandrium, where lay Aristobulus, Mariamme's brother, and many others of the Hasmonaean family.

Though it is impossible to speak with certainty there can be little doubt that Alexander and Aristobulus were guiltless of the major charge brought against them. The evidence against them, except that of the barber, who seems to have suffered from that not uncommon form of mania which induces weak-minded persons to accuse themselves of notorious crimes, was all obtained by the use of torture, and from its contradictory character it is fairly evident that it was produced to gain relief from pain. In view of the extensive inquiries made it was also strikingly scanty. No documentary evidence came to light which proved anything more than that the young princes were jealous of Antipater and disliked and feared their father, that they had planned to escape from the country, and that they were determined to secure what they considered to be their lawful rights after their father's death. Seeing that they were rash and incautious youths, and that their every word and movement was watched for years, it is incredible that if they had been guilty of any conspiracy far more evidence would not have come to light. In a measure they were responsible for their fate. They had contumaciously refused to accept their father's rulings on the succession, and had persisted in regarding themselves as heirs by right to the kingdom which he had created and of which he had in law and in equity the absolute disposition. By their

stubborn pride of birth they had gone out of their way to make enemies of all their relatives by treating them as intruders. But it is difficult not to feel some sympathy for them. Their faults were mercilessly exploited by unscrupulous opponents to rob them of their father's affection and cheat them of their legitimate expectations and finally to do them to death. Herod, too, much though he was to blame, deserves some sympathy. His great weakness, his suspicion, had been cruelly exploited. He did his best to be fair to the sons of Mariamme. Time after time he had been reconciled with them and given them a fresh start. But he was not proof against the persistent campaign of intrigue and innuendo kept up for years by his sister and brother and eldest son, and Alexander and Aristobulus had done little to hold his affections.

Now that the enemies of Alexander and Aristobulus had achieved their purpose, their interest began to drift apart. Salome was satisfied. She had got her revenge on the sons of the proud Mariamme. They had treated her like dirt and insulted her daughter and threatened to wreak vengeance for their mother's death upon her. Now they were safely dead, she could rest in peace. Antipater was by no means satisfied. His rivals were dead, it is true, but he made many enemies in destroying them. The army he knew was indignant at the fate of its favourites, and regarded him as their executioner. His father had only been goaded into executing his sons by persistent pressure and still regarded them with a regret which might become remorse. If his intrigues against them came to light—and at any moment some enemy of his might discover some compromising fact—his father's favour might suddenly be changed into violent hatred. Herod had, moreover, been worked up into a mood of restless suspicion, and the least thing might turn his suspicions upon himself. Meanwhile Herod's younger sons were growing up and becoming potential rivals. Herod the son of Mariamme the second was

being vigorously pushed forward by his mother; as grandson of the high priest he might have considerable backing. Antipater's disquiet was further increased when one of Malthace's sons, Archelaus, and one of Cleopatra's, Philip, were sent to Rome for their education: this could only mean that they were regarded as possible heirs. Altogether Antipater felt that he would never feel safe till he was firmly seated on the throne; and his father took an unconscionable time in dying. He endeavoured to fortify his position in every way. He tried by liberal presents to ingratiate himself with his father's ministers. He also spent large sums of money in securing the support of influential persons at Rome. He was careful to win the goodwill of Saturninus, the legate of Syria, and his brother. He tried to get Salome on his side. To bind her interests more closely to his, he persuaded his father to marry her daughter Berenice, Aristobulus' widow, to his mother's brother. But Salome was suspicious of his advances. She rightly suspected that they boded no good to her brother, and to him she would never be disloyal. Pheroras he found easier game. Pheroras was by now completely under the thumb of his wife; she and her mother and sister ruled him absolutely. Antipater therefore tried to get hold of him through his womenfolk; he was suspected of carrying on an intrigue with his wife with the connivance and encouragement of her mother. It is doubtful how far he really succeeded in gaining Pheroras' wife to his cause. She was an ambitious woman and had schemes of her own, and it is probable that her idea was to use Antipater to further her schemes. But though each was plotting to double-cross the other, they worked together for the moment. Since Pheroras was at odds with his brother, his alliance with Antipater had to be kept secret. In public they kept up a show of hostility, especially when Herod was present, but they held secret meetings in which they discussed their plans.

Antipater's nervousness was increased by the evident solicitude which Herod showed for the children of Alexander and Aristobulus. Alexander had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes; Aristobulus three sons and two daughters, Herod, Agrippa, Aristobulus, Herodias, and Mariamme. Though they were still only children Herod determined to assure their future by arranging suitable marriages for them. The young Alexander was to marry Pheroras' daughter, the young Herod Antipater's daughter. Aristobulus' two daughters were allotted to Antipater's son and to the king's own son by the younger Mariamme, Herod. Herod's object in arranging these betrothals was to bind together the discordant halves of his family; he still had a pathetic hope that in the third generation the feud might be healed and that concord might reign. Antipater did not like these arrangements. Popular sympathy was strong for the orphaned children of the murdered princes and they might become his rivals or his children's rivals. He was particularly jealous of Alexander's sons, since it was likely that Archelaus, their grandfather, would support them, and now Pheroras was to be enlisted in their support by the marriage of his daughter to one of them. He worked hard against the proposed arrangements and eventually persuaded his father to modify them. Pheroras' daughter was given to his own son, while he himself was betrothed to the daughter of Aristobulus who was to have gone to Herod. He thus strengthened his ties with Pheroras and also got both the daughters of Aristobulus into his own family. His connexion with the Hasmonaean line was now strong; for he had previously married the daughter of Antigonus, the last Hasmonaean king, who had been expelled by Herod at the beginning of his reign.

At about this time a plot against Herod was brought to light. It was the work of his old enemy Syllaeus, who, after his condemnation by Augustus, had returned to Arabia and

continued his intrigues undaunted. He had by liberal bribes secured the support of Fabatus, a slave of Augustus who represented his interests in the Nabataean kingdom, and with his aid successfully postponed payment of his debt to Herod. Herod had, however, outbid Syllaeus for Fabatus' favour, and Syllaeus, furious at being double-crossed, had written to Augustus, denouncing his agent of a corrupt understanding with Herod. This was a foolish proceeding, for Fabatus was privy to all his designs, and he now in revenge gave information to Herod of a plot that Syllaeus had been concocting against his life. On this information Herod was able to arrest a Nabataean in his bodyguard, named Corinthus, who was to have struck the actual blow, and also two friends of Syllaeus who had recently arrived in Jerusalem to stimulate Corinthus' zeal; for he had been suspiciously dilatory in carrying out his undertaking. The three prisoners were sent to Saturninus, the legate of Syria, who dispatched them to Rome for trial before Augustus.

Shortly after this there was a further breach between Herod and Pheroras. Pheroras' wife was again the cause of the trouble. She had, in pursuance of her private ambitions, been currying favour with the Pharisees. Herod had recently, either on the emperor's orders or in order to demonstrate more clearly his suspected loyalty, exacted from his subjects an oath of allegiance to the emperor as well as to himself. The Pharisees had refused to take the oath, and Herod had fined them. Pheroras' wife saw her opportunity and paid the fine for them. The Pharisees began to have visions of a renewal of the golden age of Alexandra, and spread prophecies abroad that Herod's rule would end and his posterity be cast out and the kingdom would come to Pheroras and his wife and their children. The idea found many adherents even in the palace and in Herod's own family.

Salome informed her brother of what was going on and

Herod took a strong line with the malcontents. The ring-leaders among the Pharisees were executed, as well as several members of the royal household who had been implicated. He then summoned a meeting of the privy council and denounced Pheroras' wife as a mischief-maker, who had persistently set his brother against him and had now been stirring up sedition in the country, and demanded that Pheroras, if he wished to retain his brother's affection, must divorce her. Pheroras stubbornly refused to do so, declaring that, strong as was his affection to his brother, he would not sacrifice his beloved wife to it, but would rather die. Herod did not press the matter further, but, having been warned by Salome that Antipater was suspiciously intimate with Pheroras, he urged him to eschew his uncle's company and gave him 100 talents for his promise not to hold any further communication with him.

Antipater was more than ever alarmed at this sign that his father was beginning to suspect him and decided that no time was to be lost. His first anxiety was to get his father's will ratified by Augustus, so that when he died there should be no dispute about the succession. He got his supporters in Rome to write to his father, pressing him to get the succession settled and representing that this was Augustus' wish. Herod complied and sent him in the spring of 5 B.C. to Rome, carrying magnificent presents to the imperial family and the will, in which he was appointed heir-apparent, with Herod, the son of Mariamme the second, as heir-presumptive. Meanwhile Pheroras was left to carry out his part of the plot.

Herod's relations with Pheroras did not improve, and at last he ordered him to leave the kingdom and retire to his own tetrarchy. Pheroras very willingly obeyed and swore that he would never set foot in Herod's territory as long as he was alive. He spitefully kept his oath even when Herod, falling dangerously ill, summoned him to his bedside. Herod was

less vindictive, and when he recovered and Pheroras in his turn fell ill he rushed to him without waiting for an invitation. He arrived in time for a last interview, in which he forgave his brother. Pheroras died soon after, and Herod gave him a magnificent funeral.

After the funeral two of Pheroras' favourite freedmen approached Herod and informed him that they suspected that he had not died a natural death. He had had supper with his wife the day before he fell ill and there had been served to him an unfamiliar dish with which they thought poison had been disguised. Pheroras' mother-in-law and sister-in-law had a few days previously gone to an Arabian woman, who was incidentally an intimate friend of one of Syllaes' mistresses, and had returned the day before the supper-party. It was obvious that they had obtained the poison from this woman—Arabian women were notorious for their skill in concocting poisons. Herod had the slave women of Pheroras' household tortured, at first with no result. But at length one of them in her agony cursed Doris, Antipater's mother, as the author of all their troubles. This line of inquiry was pursued, and the secret meetings between Antipater and his mother and Pheroras and his women soon came to light—it came out among other things that Antipater had told Pheroras of the gift of 100 talents which Herod had secretly made to him in consideration of his ceasing to communicate with Pheroras. It further transpired that he had complained to his mother that his father was so long in dying that he would be an old man before he came to the throne, if indeed he ever did; his father might at any moment transfer his favour to one of his brothers or nephews—he had already named one of his brothers instead of his son as heir-presumptive—and it was not unlikely that he would kill him as he had Alexander and Aristobulus; and that was why he had arranged the visit to Rome.

These confessions confirmed Salome's previous hints so clearly that Herod became convinced of Antipater's duplicity. He sent Doris away in disgrace and began to examine Antipater's servants. His suspicions were soon confirmed. Antipater's steward, a Samaritan of the same name as his master, when put to the question confessed that Antipater had given a box of poison to Pheroras for him to administer to Herod while he was in Rome and therefore could not come under suspicion; this box had been brought from Egypt by Antiphilus, one of Antipater's friends, who had delivered it to Theudion, Doris' brother, who passed it on to Pheroras: it was now in the keeping of Pheroras' wife. Herod asked her if this were true, and she immediately confessed and offered to produce the box. On her way to fetch it she attempted to commit suicide by throwing herself from the roof, but she did not succeed in killing herself, landing on her feet. Herod put her in the hands of his doctor and promised her and her servants a full pardon if she made a full confession. She confirmed Antipater the Samaritan's story, but added that on his death-bed Pheroras, overcome by his brother's generosity, had repented of his design and had ordered her to produce the poison and burn it before his eyes. She had done so, but had reserved a small portion to take herself if Herod ill-treated her on her husband's death. She then produced the box with a little poison in it. Antiphilus' mother and brother were next arrested and under torture admitted the same story and identified the box, further revealing that a brother of Antiphilus, who was a doctor in Alexandria, had concocted the poison. Herod's wife Mariamme was also alleged to have been privy to the plot. Herod divorced her, removed her father from the high-priesthood, and struck her son out of his will.

While these investigations were proceeding Bathyllus, one of Antipater's freedmen, arrived from Rome bringing a batch



of letters. Antipater's letter brought the good news that Syllaes had at last been brought to book. He had arrived at Rome at about the same time as Antipater and had been closely pursued by a delegation from Aretas. His accusers had joined forces, Antipater pressing the conspiracy against Herod, the Nabataean delegates accusing him of the murder of a prominent supporter of Aretas named Sohaemus, and, what was even more serious, of Fabatus, Augustus' own agent. On these charges Syllaes had been condemned to death. Antipater also gave a favourable report of Archelaus' and Philip's conduct in Rome and begged his father not to take too serious a view of any information to the contrary which might come to his ears; they were after all young yet *and their youthful indiscretions must be excused*. The meaning of these insinuations appeared from other letters in the mail brought by Bathyllus, written by Herod's friends in Rome, warning him that Archelaus and Philip had been slandering their father about the execution of Alexander and Aristobulus and had been suggesting that the same fate awaited themselves on their return to Jerusalem.

Bathyllus was examined and it was found that he had brought with him a second dose of stronger poison, in case the first dose should fail to act. Antipater's guilt was now indisputable and Herod determined that he must be punished. He was already on his way home, having concluded his business in Rome, and he was still unaware of the revelations that had occurred in his absence; for the mails from Judaea to Rome had been watched ever since the inquiry had begun some six months before. The only news he had received was that Pheroras was dead, and it had been noted that his grief over his uncle's death had been rather more violent than mere family affection warranted. Herod was afraid, however, that he might get wind of what had happened at home on his journey, and wrote him a reassuring letter to

be delivered to him on his way. In this letter he revealed that he had some cause of complaint against his mother—Doris' disgrace had occurred before adequate precautions against leakage of information had been taken, and Herod, fearing *that news of it might have reached Antipater independently*, had thought it best to be open about it. He urged Antipater to hasten his return, as he was sure that he would be able to clear up this little matter. Antipater received this letter in Cilicia, and it made him hesitate: some of his friends urged him to wait for further news: others represented that his best course was to hurry on; when he was on the spot he would easily recover his influence over his father. Antipater decided to go on. When he landed at Caesarea he saw that matters were serious; no friends had come to greet his return and there were no cheering crowds to welcome him. He hurried on to Jerusalem, anxious to know the worst. At the palace gates the guards admitted him, but his friends were shut out. He nervously made his way to the hall of audience. He was received by Herod with a violent denunciation as the murderer of his brothers and the would-be murderer of himself and was told to prepare himself for his trial, which would take place the very next day.

Herod had requested Varus, the legate of Syria, to be present for the trial and he had already arrived. He and Herod sat together as presidents of the court, which was formed by the king's privy council. Herod opened the proceedings with a bitter speech of denunciation. He recalled all the favours he had showered on Antipater. He had allowed him a princely income; he had virtually treated him as his co-regent, sharing his dignity and authority with him; he had named him his heir. And now Antipater had rewarded him by plotting to take his life. He went on to accuse Antipater of having hounded his brothers to death. At this point he broke down and Nicolaus of Damascus took up the case,

marshalling the evidence against Antipater. The witnesses previously examined were produced; some more evidence was brought forward which had recently come to light—a letter which Doris had written to her son warning him that all was lost, and that his only hope was to turn back to Rome and appeal to Augustus. Antipater was next allowed to speak in his own defence. He enlarged on all the services he had performed for his father. When he had unmasked so many plots against his life, was it likely that he would have plotted his murder himself? He expatiated on the benefits he had received from his father. What motive could he have had for such base ingratitude, when he had received more than he could have hoped for? He urged Augustus' letters in his praise: surely the emperor had not been deceived. He finally threw doubt on the evidence. Evidence produced under torture was notoriously unreliable, and the whole examination had been conducted while he was away and unable to defend himself. Herod began to hesitate, but Nicolaus, who was an implacable enemy of Antipater, went over the evidence again and wound up the case for the prosecution with a passionate denunciation of Antipater's ingratitude. Antipater in reply called upon God to send some sign to prove his innocence. Varus, unimpressed by the religious appeal, suggested a more practical test, that a condemned criminal should drink the alleged poison in open court. This was done, and the man promptly died. The court was then dismissed and Varus, after a private interview with Herod, returned to Antioch. Herod imprisoned Antipater and wrote to Augustus, giving a report of the proceedings.

Meanwhile further evidence of Antipater's intrigues came to light. A slave of Antiphilus arrived from Egypt, bringing a letter from his master to Antipater. The letter ran: 'I am sending to you Acme's letter at the risk of my life: for you know that I am in danger from two families if I am caught.

Good luck to your scheme.' The letter alluded to was not enclosed and the slave denied having received it. But it was observed that the slave's inner tunic had a hem. The letter discovered in the hem ran thus: 'Acme to Antipater. I have written the kind of letter you wanted to your father and have made a copy of the letter purporting to have been written by Salome to my mistress; when he reads it he will punish Salome for plotting against him.' The significance of these letters soon appeared when a letter arrived for Herod from Acme, who was a Jewish slave of the empress Livia, denouncing Salome and enclosing a copy of what purported to be a letter from Salome to Livia, accusing her brother of disloyalty.

Herod was now sinking fast. He was in the final stages of a disease which, from Josephus' lurid description of its symptoms, appears to have been cancer of the bowels. Knowing that he was soon to die he made a new will, leaving the kingdom to Antipas, his younger son by Malthace; for despite the revelation of Antipater's intrigues against himself and against his sister, his incurably suspicious mind still credited his stories against Archelaus and Philip. He left a legacy of 2,000 talents to Augustus and 500 to Livia and smaller sums to many of Augustus' friends and freedmen. He also left ample provision for Salome, with whom he had been completely reconciled by recent events, and endowed all his numerous *children and grandchildren with revenues and lands.*

His last days were troubled with an outbreak of religious fanaticism. After the discovery of their conspiracy in favour of Pheroras he had abandoned all attempt to conciliate the Pharisees. He had done all he conscientiously could to win their favour. He had sacrificed a valuable dynastic alliance to their prejudices. He had excused them the oath of allegiance to himself, and had merely fined them for the more serious offence of refusing the oath to the emperor. He had

meticulously observed the prohibition against images in its most narrow and literal sense. And they had responded by getting up a crusade in favour of a rival. It was clearly useless to attempt to placate irreconcilable opponents, and Herod now resolved to pursue his own policy without reference to their prejudices. It has been suggested above that the severity of Augustus' displeasure over the Syllaeus incident may have been in part due to distrust of the implications of Herod's religious policy, and particularly of the rebuilding of the temple. This suggestion is confirmed by the action which Herod now took. He erected over the great door of the temple a golden eagle. It is unlikely that this move was merely a wanton outrage to strict Jewish feeling, and it is evident that the symbolism of the eagle was important, for Herod at the same time introduced the figure of an eagle on his coins; it was his first and only issue which bore the representation of a living thing. It seems then probable that the eagle is to be interpreted as the symbol of imperial Rome and that its erection on the temple itself was a political gesture, a sign that his devotion to his national god meant no slackening in his loyalty to the emperor.

As might have been expected the eagle caused great indignation in Pharisee circles, and when Herod was plainly on his death-bed two prominent Pharisee doctors, Matthias the son of Margalothus and Judas the son of Sariphaeus, began to raise an agitation about it. They harangued the students who attended their lectures, demonstrating that Herod's illness was assuredly a judgement of God for his wickedness in breaking the Law, and urging them to win the glory of martyrdom by tearing down the impious object. The students were worked up to a high pitch of excitement, but as long as Herod lived they hung back from any open defiance. At length one day a rumour went round that Herod was dead. They marched out to the temple, scaled the porch, and, letting

themselves down from the top by ropes, cut down the eagle and proceeded in the presence of a large and admiring crowd to hack it to pieces. News of the disturbance was presently carried to the commander of the royal troops in the Antonia. He hurried across with a party of men, and having arrested forty of the culprits—the rest ran away—and also the two professors, who stood their ground boldly, marched them off to the palace. Here they received an unpleasant shock: Herod was not dead after all, and their heroism was not to cost them so cheap as they had expected. Herod interrogated them and they replied defiantly they had done what they had done for the sake of the Law. They were remanded to prison and an assembly of Jewish notables was convoked at Jericho. Herod was carried into the theatre, in which they were gathered, on his sick-bed and addressed them with bitter indignation. He recounted the labour and expense he had lavished on the building of the temple. Had the Hasmonaean dynasty in all the century and a quarter of its rule done so notable a work to the glory of God? He might have expected gratitude from his people. But what had been his reward? His precious dedication to God had been torn down and broken in pieces in broad daylight in the presence of an approving crowd. It was a gross insult to himself. But it was more. It was sacrilege against God. The assembly was overawed by the old man's wrath. It pleaded that there had been no general sympathy for the deed and urged that the guilty parties only should be punished. Herod accepted their judgement. The prisoners were executed, the two professors and the students who actually cut the eagle down being burnt alive. The high priest, as being officially responsible, was degraded. No further action was taken.

It is difficult not to sympathize with Herod in this matter. Even if the erection of the eagle had been indisputably unlawful, gratitude to the builder of the magnificent structure

to which it was affixed might have stayed the hands of the most zealous champions of the Law. But in point of fact the second commandment is loosely drafted, and it has often been held that the first clause, 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image', is limited by the second, 'Thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them'; the setting up of images for worship, not representational art in general, is forbidden. Herod had good precedent in adopting the more liberal interpretation. Solomon himself had adorned his temple with figures of bulls and lions and eagles, and it had never been counted a reproach against him. In many ways, no doubt, the observance of the Law had become more rigid since Solomon's day, but on this particular point it is very questionable whether ordinary opinion had hardened. It is noteworthy that the coins issued by the Jewish cities of Sepphoris and Tiberias in the early second century A.D. admit the head of the emperor on their obverse sides, and the coins of the latter city show human figures on their reverse also, while the synagogues of the late second and early third centuries are richly adorned with carvings of eagles, lions, and even human beings. It is in fact strongly to be suspected that the indignation of the Pharisees was largely fictitious, and that if the golden eagle had not been put up by Herod it would have caused no scandal.

At last a reply came from Augustus. He had executed Acme for her conspiracy against Salome and he gave full authority to Herod to deal as he thought fit with Antipater. Herod was unable to move himself to action. He was now racked by continual pain. His doctors were baffled. They prescribed the hot baths of Callirhoe, a medicinal spring east of the Dead Sea. They recommended immersions in a tub of oil. But nothing brought relief. One day he attempted to cut his throat with a fruit-knife. He was restrained by his cousin Achiabus, but meanwhile the rumour had got round

the palace that he was dead. Antipater in his cell heard the news and begged his jailer to release him, promising him great rewards when he should be king. But the jailer had no liking for him and reported the incident to Herod. Herod roused himself to one last effort. He ordered Antipater's execution and drew up a new will. In this last will he relented from his baseless suspicion of Archelaus and Philip. He appointed Archelaus king, assigning subordinate tetrarchies to Antipas and Philip. To Salome he bequeathed Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, as well as 50 talents in money. As in his previous will he made provision for his other relatives and left large legacies to Augustus, Livia, and other members of the imperial household. Five days later he died (March, 4 B.C.).

He died an embittered and a disappointed man. His relations with the emperor, once so cordial, had been of late years clouded, first by the Arabian affair and latterly by his quarrels with his sons; Augustus' bitter epigram 'I would rather be Herod's pig than Herod's son' shows how far he had moved from the esteem in which he once held the king. The Pharisees, whom he long laboured to conciliate, had proved disloyal and in his last days had publicly insulted him. The army which he built up with such care was disaffected, alienated by the death of its favourites, the sons of Mariamme. The people, despite the noble temple he had given them, hated him with as fierce a loathing as ever. His own family had plotted against him. His two favourite sons had been taught to hate him and had in the end, as he believed, conspired against his life. His brother, whom in spite of his undutiful conduct he had treated with generosity, had planned to poison him. Finally his eldest son, on whom he had lavished all his remaining love, had turned against him.

Herod's personal faults are glaring. In the pursuit of his ambition he was utterly ruthless, and to climb to power he put away without a qualm not only those who actively resisted



him but all, however innocent, who might be an embarrassment to him; his murder of the boy high priest Aristobulus and the senile Hyrcanus are hard to excuse. This fault was exaggerated by his suspicious temperament, which, irritated by the knowledge that his death would be welcome to many, and deliberately played upon by the intrigues of his relatives, became an all-devouring obsession. He was only too willing to believe the most improbable stories of conspiracy, and this credulity, unscrupulously exploited by his scheming kinsmen for their own ends, betrayed him into many acts of cruelty and injustice. But against his faults must be set some amiable virtues. His family affection was strong. He was consistently generous to his brother despite his many lapses from loyalty and his pigheaded obstinacy in clinging to his mischief-making wife. He forgave his sister for having alienated him from his best-loved wife and his favourite sons. Even in dealing with these sons it must be admitted that he strove to be fair. He forgave Alexander and Aristobulus many times for their real or supposed disloyalty, and it was only after his mind had been poisoned by almost ten years of persistent slander that he could be brought to the point of putting them to death.

As a ruler Herod's worth is attested by the approval and confidence of three such good judges as Antony, Augustus, and Agrippa. His gifts were many and various. In public affairs his ruthlessness was an asset; by relentless repression he was able to crush the brigandage which was an endemic pest in many parts of his dominions, and to tame wild regions which had never before known orderly government. Nor did he, save when he feared for his personal safety, allow ruthlessness to degenerate into savagery: he tolerated conscientious objections to his progressive measures and even condescended on occasion to reason with his opponents. His financial ability is shown by the vast schemes of improvement which he was able to carry through without seriously overburdening his

subjects with taxation: despite his huge expenditure he left a full treasury and a prosperous country. His genius for organization is attested by his creation of a well-trained army, which was worthy when the time came to be incorporated in the imperial forces, by the foundation of cities which flourished long after his death, and above all by the establishment on fresh foundations of a stable monarchy. Perhaps his greatest gift was his untiring energy. Faced wherever he turned by sullen hostility or active opposition, he carried through his policy with *unflagging determination*. It was no mean achievement to have imposed his will almost single-handed on a reluctant people for over thirty years.

Posterity has given to Herod the title of 'the Great', and perhaps he deserves it. The policy which he attempted to *impose on his people* would have been a wise one if they could have been induced to accept it. If the Jews were to survive as a nation they must accept not only the rule but the culture of the Roman empire; they must abandon not only their dreams of independence but their exclusiveness. For even if they could hope for tolerance from a world which they aggressively spurned, they could not themselves for ever tolerate being ruled by a power which they condemned as wholly evil. Their pride in their exclusive righteousness would forbid them to accept the orders of a gentile master, and they would inevitably demand political independence as their right and in the end, as they eventually did, seek it by a rebellion which was foredoomed to disastrous failure. Herod's aim was to break down the rigid barrier which the Jews had created between themselves and the rest of the world. He would have had the Jews take their full share in the culture of the age and, while they preserved the essential point of their own faith, the worship of the one true God, enjoy the rich harvest of Greek civilization, its philosophy, its science, its literature, and its art. If they would condescend to take what the Greeks had

to offer they might find it not wholly bad; they might be weaned from their narrow self-righteousness to a larger and more tolerant view of the world; and they might become willing to accommodate themselves to the rule of a gentile master. It is doubtful if any man could have stemmed the rising tide of nationalism and fanaticism at this date. A king who commanded the full confidence of the Jewish people might have essayed it. Herod, as an alien, a usurper, and a creature of the Romans, was disqualified before he began. He had to achieve two incompatible results at one and the same time: to win the confidence of his people as a good Jew, and to propagate Hellenism among them; and with magnificent inconsistency he built with one hand a temple to the God of Israel, that the Jews might trust his loyalty to the faith of their fathers, and with the other a theatre and a hippodrome, where they might learn the Greek way of life. But impossible though it was of execution, his aim was at bottom sane and enlightened, and if they could have learnt from him the Jews would have been saved much suffering.

On his contemporaries he made a deep impression, and his forceful and terrible figure swiftly gathered round itself a halo of legend. Some of the stories are half affectionate. He shares with Harun al Rashid—and almost every oriental monarch who has impressed the imagination of his people—the reputation of having each night disguised himself as a common man and mingled with his subjects, seeking to know their true opinion of his government. Other legends illustrate his impious defiance of every law. In his lust for gold he is alleged to have descended by night into the sepulchre of David and Solomon and taken out from it its precious furniture of gold; he would have penetrated yet farther to the very bodies of David and Solomon but that a flame of fire burst forth and consumed one of his guards; he fled in terror and in expiation built a monument of white marble at the

grave's mouth. The monument is historical—it is mentioned by Nicolaus of Damascus—and is no doubt the origin of the story. Other legends attribute to him fantastic acts of cruelty. When he lay dying, it was said, he caused all the notable men of the Jews to be assembled in the hippodrome of Jericho and charged Salome and Alexas, so soon as he was dead, to slay them every one; for he knew well the people would rejoice at his death and he would have mourning at his funeral. The historical origin of this story is probably the fact that a national assembly was summoned shortly before Herod's death, probably to hear the arrangements for the succession, and was dismissed by Salome and Alexas without explanation. Another more familiar legend tells how wise men came from the east announcing the birth of a king of the Jews at Bethlehem, and how Herod, when they did not tell which child it was that should take his crown from him, massacred every man-child in Bethlehem.

But the greatest testimony to his personality is the cycle of legends which reveal him as the man of destiny, whose charmed life no accident could cut short. It was said that in his early struggles for the throne he once held a great feast at Jericho, and that very night, when he had retired to his bed-chamber, the hall in which he had feasted fell down in ruins. Again, it was said that once, whilst he was weary with fighting, he went into the bath of a house he had taken and bathed: he was naked and there was only one slave with him, when an enemy soldier, who had hidden himself in an inner room, entered fully armed and with drawn sword; another followed and yet another, but they did not see the king and passed out. Both these escapes are attributed by Josephus, who had no love of Herod, to divine providence. Herod was in the eyes of his people the chosen instrument of God to chastise them for their sins, and God would not suffer him to die before he had fulfilled his allotted task.

## THE SONS OF HEROD

As soon as Herod was dead and before the news was made public, Salome and Alexas dismissed the assembly of notables who had been summoned to Jericho. They then mustered the army and announced the king's death and at the same time read a letter which he had left, praising them for their fidelity and urging them to be as loyal to his successor. Ptolemy the vizier, who held Herod's seal, then came forward and, having first reminded them that it was not valid till it had been approved by the emperor, opened Herod's will. Archelaus was acclaimed by the troops and they took the oath of allegiance to him. He refused to wear the crown which was offered to him, or to accept the title of king, till the will had been ratified.

The loyalty of the army being assured, Archelaus prepared for his father's funeral. It was a magnificent spectacle and at the same time an imposing display of force. The procession was headed by a golden bier, on which lay the corpse, arrayed in royal robes of purple, with a golden crown upon its head and a sceptre in its hand. Around the bier walked Herod's sons and the rest of his family. Immediately behind the bier and the mourners marched the guards. Then followed the regiment of the Thracians, the regiment of the Germans, the regiments of the Gauls, and the entire army. The rear was brought up by five hundred of Herod's freedmen, carrying spices for the embalming of the body. The procession marched to Herodium, where Herod was laid to rest in the palace he had built for himself.

Archelaus observed the seven days' mourning required by the Jewish law and gave the people a funeral feast. Then he assembled them in the temple and appeared before them,

taking his seat on a golden throne, raised on a high platform. He was received with acclamations; he was still a very young man and almost unknown—he had passed most of his adult years in Rome—and every one was prepared to hope for the best. He made a short speech, thanking the people for giving him so kind a welcome, though he was his father's son, and promising that he would do his best to deserve it. But for the present, he reminded them, he was not yet king and must await the emperor's confirmation. The crowd, encouraged by his slighting allusion to his father and ignoring his reservation, immediately began to clamour for redress of their grievances. They shouted for a general amnesty for prisoners, for remission of taxation, and in particular for the abolition of the hated tax on sales. Archelaus was embarrassed and somewhat annoyed, but made vague promises of redress. He then sacrificed and retired.

The people, encouraged by Archelaus' conciliatory attitude, soon began to press for more. They loudly lamented the martyrs of the golden eagle, and demanded vengeance on *Herod's ministers*; they clamoured for the deposition of the high priest whom Herod had recently appointed. Archelaus was irritated by the importunity of his subjects. He felt that they were taking advantage of his kindness, and they had chosen a most inopportune moment for doing so. Even had he been willing in principle to grant their demands, he could not do so now. He knew that Augustus was quick to take offence at any sign of presumption on the part of his client kings, and that it would endanger his chances of the succession if it appeared that he had exercised his royal authority before it was officially bestowed upon him. He knew also that there were plenty of persons who would be only too pleased to report and exaggerate any unconstitutional action he might take. On the other hand he was anxious to please the people: it would strengthen his position when the

succession came to be settled if a national deputation supported him. He compromised rather illogically. He promised to grant their request about the high priest. As to their other demands he reminded them that the execution of those who had destroyed the eagle was in accordance with the law, and that in any case this was not the time for complaints of this character. When he returned as king he would consider them further.

The crowd was, however, by now out of hand. The commander-in-chief, whom Archelaus had deputed to deliver this message, was booed and shouted down. Other spokesmen sent to placate them were similarly treated. The situation was getting more serious every day. The Passover was approaching, and from all parts of the country the people were streaming in to celebrate the feast and join in the agitation. Every day the crowd of fanatical peasants encamped in the temple courts was swelling, and the temper of the people was rising. Archelaus was afraid of a revolutionary outbreak and sent a small body of troops into the temple with orders to arrest the ringleaders. The crowd pelted them with stones and they retired in disorder with heavy casualties. Thoroughly alarmed, Archelaus launched the entire army against the crowd. The temple was cleared but in the process three thousand rioters were killed. Archelaus issued a proclamation ordering all his subjects to return to their homes. The festival was abandoned and they sullenly obeyed.

Archelaus now was anxious to hurry off to Rome. By his vacillations between weakness and violence he had bungled the situation badly: he had at the same time earned the hatred of the Jews and arrogated to himself the exercise of the royal authority. However, he was supported by the two principal ministers, Nicolaus of Damascus and Ptolemy the vizier, and his half-brother Philip also stood by him. While he was in Caesarea, preparing to sail, a new complication

arose. Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, arrived and claimed, as the emperor's financial agent, to take over the property of the deceased king. Archelaus disputed this claim and ordered the commanders of the fortresses to refuse access to Sabinus. The quarrel was terminated by the arrival of Varus, the legate of Syria, whom Ptolemy the vizier had prudently summoned. He took Archelaus' side in the dispute, declaring that he should retain control of the kingdom till orders to the contrary came from Augustus. But the dispute raised up another enemy for Archelaus: Sabinus, aggrieved at his rebuff, sent an unfavourable report on Archelaus to the emperor.

At last Archelaus sailed, leaving Philip behind him to administer the kingdom in his absence. He was closely pursued by his principal rival, his full-brother Antipas, who had been named in Herod's penultimate will as sole heir and was determined if possible to upset the last will. His mother supported his claims against those of her elder son, and he was also backed by two ministers, Nicolaus' brother Ptolemy and Irenaeus. Salome too secretly supported him, but she seems to have been playing a double game. She hoped by fomenting discord between the principal claimants to discredit them all; the kingdom might then be partitioned into a number of small principalities of which she and her family would get a substantial proportion. In this course she was supported by many other members of the family who hoped to fish in troubled waters.

Augustus, having received Herod's will from Archelaus, together with the royal seal and the accounts of the kingdom from Ptolemy, a counter-claim from Antipas and from Salome and other members of the family, and also reports from Varus and Sabinus, summoned the rival claimants and their supporters before his council. Salome's son Antipater spoke first. He took the line that Archelaus had anticipated, accusing him of usurping the royal power without



authorization; he had, it was alleged, sat upon the royal throne, decided lawsuits, appointed officers in the army, remitted taxes, and released prisoners. Antipater then dilated upon *the brutality and sacrilege of Archelaus' attack on the worshippers in the temple* and declared that he had shown gross disrespect to his father's memory. Herod could not have been in full possession of his faculties when he gave the kingdom to so brutal a tyrant, so undutiful a son, and so disloyal a subject of the emperor.

Nicolaus replied on Archelaus' behalf that the rioters had brought their fate on their own heads and that Archelaus had only acted under extreme provocation after many attempts to conciliate them. He taunted Antipater with *patronizing rebels*, and rebels not only against the royal government but against the emperor; for they had refused to await the imperial decision and tried to force Archelaus to anticipate it. He finally reminded the court that Herod had in his last will left the decision upon the succession to Augustus; was this in Antipater's view evidence that he was of unsound mind?

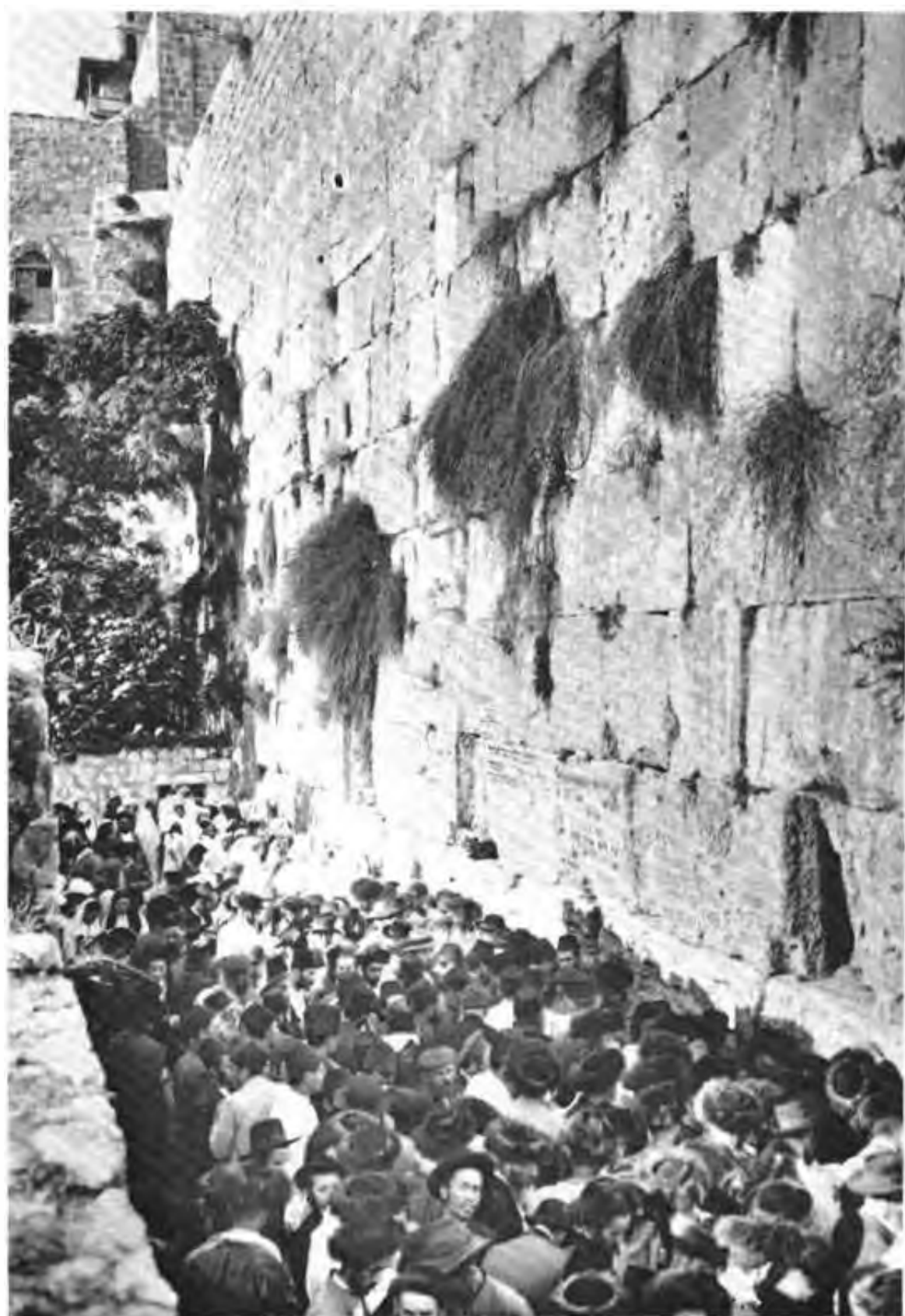
Augustus was gracious to Archelaus and gave him to understand that he would give sympathetic consideration to his claims. The case was then adjourned for a further hearing. In the interval the situation was complicated by the arrival of two more delegations. One represented the Greek cities of the kingdom and pleaded for their freedom. The other had been sent by the Jews with Varus' permission to urge the complete abolition of the kingdom and the reduction of the country to a Roman province. The common danger closed the ranks of the Herodian family and Nicolaus exercised his diplomatic talents in arranging a compromise. Having achieved a united front between the rival claimants he next turned his attention to the hostile delegations. He advised Archelaus not to press his claim to the Greek cities; their plea for freedom would certainly be sympathetically received by

the emperor and he would do well to make a virtue of necessity. The Jews must of course be uncompromisingly resisted. In due course a second hearing was held in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. The spokesmen of the Jews made a virulent attack on Herod's memory. His rule had been a reign of terror and his subjects had lived in perpetual fear of death or at the best confiscation of their property. He had massacred the nobility: he had impoverished his country to adorn foreign cities: the whole people groaned under an intolerable burden of taxation. As for his private morals, they preferred to pass over in silence the shame of their wives and daughters. Then, turning to Archelaus, they declared that they had been willing to forget his father's iniquities and let him start with a clean sheet. But he had shown by his massacre of three thousand of his subjects that he was his father's true son. They begged that they might be put under direct Roman rule: they would then be able to demonstrate that under decent government they were a peaceable and law-abiding people.

The ill-judged violence of this diatribe and its evident exaggeration robbed the Jews of any sympathy they might otherwise have received and enabled Nicolaus to represent their complaints as a trumped-up agitation. Why, he rather disingenuously asked, if Herod had been the monster that they depicted him, had they never breathed a word of complaint in his lifetime? He accused the Jews of rebellion—was this an earnest of their future behaviour?—and defended Archelaus' action as a necessary police measure.

Recent news from Palestine did not bear out the claim of the Jews that under Roman rule they would prove themselves a submissive and orderly people. There had been further rioting after Archelaus' departure, which Varus had suppressed. He had then returned to Antioch, leaving Sabinus with one legion in charge of the kingdom—Philip, Archelaus' regent, had already left for Rome to mind his own interests.

Directly that Varus' back was turned Sabinus, who was full of his own importance and had resented his previous reprimand from Varus, began to assert his authority, again demanding the keys of the fortresses from their commanders, and on their refusal used force to seize them. The Jews had never before had to endure the rule of a Roman and they strongly resented his domineering ways. There was general indignation throughout the country, and when the feast of Pentecost came on, larger crowds than usual flocked into Jerusalem, including bands of fanatical Galilaeans and Idumaeans and wild men from Jericho and the Peraea, zealous to defend the national honour from the insolent gentile intruder. The rioters occupied the temple and the hippodrome and the upper city, surrounding Sabinus in the royal palace. Sabinus was terrified at the uproar he had raised and sent an urgent demand to Varus to extricate him. Meanwhile he ordered his troops to sally out of the palace and disperse the crowds. The Roman troops met with a stubborn resistance. In the temple the battle was particularly fierce. The rioters mounted on the roofs of the colonnades and thence pelted their adversaries with stones and shot them down with arrows. The Romans suffered severe casualties, and owing to the great height of the colonnades their archers were unable to retaliate effectively. At length the Romans set fire to the colonnades. The cedar roofs went up in a blaze, the wax with which the gold leaf was applied adding to the fury of the flames. The Jews were trapped. Many of them perished in the conflagration; some threw themselves down in desperation; those who tried to descend by the staircases were slaughtered. But the remaining bodies of rioters were undismayed and continued to besiege the palace, and in the general confusion a large body of the royal troops deserted. A regular assault now began and mines were dug. Sabinus was invited to surrender, a safe conduct being promised to him and his



The Wailing Wall, Jerusalem. *See description on p. vii*

men, but he did not dare to accept the offer, suspecting the good faith of the negotiators and doubting their ability to restrain their infuriated followers. Furthermore he was daily expecting Varus to relieve him.

Meanwhile in the general collapse of authority disorders were breaking out all over the kingdom. Two thousand of Herod's veterans banded themselves together and proceeded to plunder the country. Achiabus, Herod's cousin, with a body of loyal troops, tried to suppress them but was defeated and had to take refuge in the mountains. Judas, the son of the brigand Hezekiah whom Herod had executed in his youth, got together a band of followers in Galilee and, seizing the citadel of Sepphoris, carried off the money which was stored in it and equipped his men from the armoury. He thus organized a regular army and set up as a pretender. Another pretender was Simon, a slave of the late king who had held important posts under him. He gained a large following in the Jordan valley and plundered and burnt the royal palace at Jericho and many of the government buildings in the neighbourhood, while other bands of insurgents destroyed the government offices at Amathus and Betharamphtha, the capitals of two of the toparchies of Peraea. Simon's revolt was suppressed by one of Herod's generals, Gratus, at the head of the Sebastene infantry and the Trachonite archers. *In Judaea itself a humble shepherd named Athronges assumed the crown.* He was supported by his four brothers, each of whom organized his own army, and was for a time successful both against the royal troops and against the Romans. On one occasion he cut off a Roman foraging party and killed the centurion in command and forty of his men before Gratus came to the rescue with the Sebastenes. One of the brothers was eventually killed by Gratus, and a second by another royal general, Ptolemy, but two others remained at large for a long while. Finally in Idumaea there was a

formidable rising headed by some members of the Herodian family.

These disorders did not suggest that the Jews would be easy to handle and Augustus decided to continue the client kingdom. In the details of the settlement he departed slightly from Herod's will. Instead of making Archelaus king of the whole country with Antipas and Philip as subordinate tetrarchs, he divided the kingdom between the three brothers. Archelaus had the largest share, Samareitis, Judaea, and Idumaea, with the title of ethnarch and the promise of that of king if he should prove worthy of it. Antipas and Philip were created independent tetrarchs of the regions which their father had allotted to them; Galilee and Peraea went to Antipas, the north-eastern districts, Paneas, Ulatha, Gaulanitis, Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, to Philip. One may suspect that this arrangement reproduced the terms of the compromise to which Archelaus and Antipas had already privately come on Nicolaus' advice: Antipas may have agreed to surrender his claim to the throne in return for an independent principality, and the reason for Philip's hasty journey to Rome becomes clear—he wanted to secure the same advantage for himself. But the division of the kingdom no doubt commended itself to Augustus on grounds of policy. It would give less opportunity for friction between the brothers, who were clearly not on very cordial terms. It is probable also that Augustus was not sorry to reduce Archelaus' responsibility; he had not given great proof of political capacity and it would be rash after his initial blunder to entrust the whole kingdom to him.

Of the Greek cities Gadara, Hippos, and Gaza achieved their ambition and were added to the province of Syria. Herod's two foundations of Caesarea and Sebaste were granted to Archelaus: it is not clear if they had petitioned for freedom. The fate of Gabae and Agrippias-Anthodon is not

recorded: they may either have, as Herodian foundations, been granted to Archelaus, or have been freed. Salome received the portion that Herod had allotted to her, the toparchies of Jamnia and Azotus on the coast and the palm-groves of Phasaelis; Augustus also gave her a palace which Herod had owned in the free city of Ascalon. Augustus refused the large legacy to himself, keeping only a few works of art as mementoes of Herod, and distributed it as a consolation prize among the other disappointed relatives. He also gave dowries to Herod's two unmarried daughters, Roxana and Salome, whom he married to Pheroras' two sons.

The trouble in Palestine had meanwhile been suppressed. Varus, on the receipt of Sabinus' urgent call for help, had at once realized the seriousness of the situation and had marched down with his two remaining legions and four regiments of horse. At Berytus he picked up fifteen hundred men whom the Roman colonists had been ordered to levy and at Ptolemais he was joined by further reinforcements from the client kings and tetrarchs of the province; Aretas of Arabia sent a large force, being anxious to prove his loyalty and not reluctant to have a knock at the Jews. Having detached a force which rounded up the insurgents in Galilee and destroyed Sepphoris, Varus himself with the main body marched on into Samareitis. Here the Arabians began to be troublesome, plundering the country and in particular destroying a village belonging to the vizier Ptolemy; they were accordingly soon sent back home. Advancing into Judaea, Varus burnt Emmaus as a reprisal for the slaughter of the Roman detachment by Athronges. On his approach to Jerusalem the insurgents scattered in terror and Sabinus unobtrusively made his way to Caesarea and left the country. The townsmen opened the gates and secured *pardon on the plea that the revolt had been the work of the crowds who had come in from the country for the feast*. Varus now proceeded to round up the ringleaders of the rebels



throughout the country: the majority he imprisoned, two thousand were crucified. Most of the local rebellions had by now been crushed, but in Idumaea there were still ten thousand men in arms. These were, however, soon induced by Achiabus, Herod's cousin, to surrender and were pardoned, their leaders only being sent to Rome for trial. Having thoroughly pacified the country Varus returned to Antioch, leaving behind one legion.

The three brothers thus found their dominions subdued for them on their return. Of the three Archelaus was the least successful. He had the most difficult task. He had in the first place a bad reputation to live down, whereas the others started with a clean sheet. This was not entirely his fault, for he had been obliged to take responsibility at a very difficult moment, while they did not face their subjects until they had been thoroughly cowed by ruthless repression. In the second place, though his principality was the largest and by far the wealthiest—his revenue was 600 talents as against Antipas' 200 and Philip's 100—he had the unhappy distinction of possessing the capital of a much diminished kingdom. He was thus faced with the equally unpopular alternatives of either overburdening his principality with taxation in order to maintain the same scale of expenditure as his father or drastically reducing his establishment, thus causing widespread unemployment. He seems to have chosen the latter alternative. At any rate his reign is distinguished by no such great enterprises as glorified that of his father. Even the rebuilding of the temple colonnades burnt in the riots proceeded very slowly; it was still unfinished many years after his deposition. His only foundation was a village which he named Archelais after himself. It was part of a useful work, the continuation of his father's irrigation works and palm-plantations in the Jordan valley north of Jericho; Archelaus was no doubt stimulated to it by the loss



of the plantations round Phasaelis which had been granted to Salome.

After the miscarriage of his first attempt at conciliation he seems to have resolved to follow closely in his father's footsteps; he proclaimed this policy by officially taking the name of Herod. His coinage, which is strictly aniconic, may indicate that he tried to revive the *modus vivendi* with the Pharisees which his father had maintained till the last years of his reign. On the other hand he foolishly offended strict Jewish sentiment by marrying his deceased half-brother's wife, Glaphyra, despite the fact that she had borne sons to her former husband. With the Sadducees his relations seem to have been strained. He deposed the high priest he had found in office, Joazar the son of Boethus, directly he returned from Rome, on the ground that he had encouraged the rebellion, and appointed his brother Eleazar in his stead. But Eleazar proved equally unsatisfactory and Archelaus deposed him in his turn, appointing a man from a new family, Jesus son of See. Archelaus' rule would seem to have been tolerably efficient. We hear of no disorders in his reign except for the remnants of the great rebellion of 4 B.C.; two of Athronges' brothers were still at large when he came to the throne, but one was eventually captured and the other, despairing of the struggle, surrendered on a promise of pardon. But there can be no doubt that his government was harsh and repressive; in the tradition of the Gospels it is implied that he was as bad as his father. Eventually in A.D. 6 the Jews and the Samaritans combined to make a formal complaint to the emperor; the co-operation of the two communities, normally at bitter enmity, indicates that their grievances must have been really serious. Archelaus was summoned to Rome and, when the charges had been substantiated, deposed and banished to Vienna of the Allobriges (Vienne in Dauphiné). In this distant western city he lived till his death.

According to Cassius Dio, Archelaus' brothers joined in the accusation. If Strabo's account is to be believed, that they were themselves accused by the Jews and with difficulty secured confirmation on their thrones, their attack on their brother may be justified on the plea of self-preservation. Strabo's story is, however, implausible: Philip at any rate was by all accounts a popular prince and, in any case, he had very few Jewish subjects. It is, moreover, unsupported by the other authorities, and Strabo, though a contemporary, was not familiar with Jewish affairs. It would seem, then, that Antipas and Philip joined in the attack on their brother in the hope of sharing in the spoil. If so they were disappointed, for Salome was the only member of the Herodian family who profited by Archelaus' fall, adding his new plantations at Archelais to her own at Phasaelis. The rest of the ethnarchy was annexed.

The legate of Syria, Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, was ordered to take over the annexed territory. One of his first acts was to carry out a census in the Roman manner, the first census properly so called that had ever been held in Judaea.<sup>1</sup> His object was probably to provide the statistical data for the levy of a poll-tax. It is not certain whether the poll-tax itself was an innovation; it is indeed probable that it had been levied in the Herodian kingdom. But its assessment had no doubt been based as in Ptolemaic Egypt on annual returns of population by the village clerks. The Roman government had introduced into Egypt a simpler and more reliable method. Poll-tax was in Egypt levied on males from the ages of fourteen to sixty. Accordingly a complete register for taxation purposes could be obtained by counting the entire population, including newly-born infants, once every fourteen years; children as they grew up during the succeeding period would be year by year entered on the list of taxpayers;

<sup>1</sup> This is presumably the census alluded to in Luke ii. 1-3.

those who passed the maximum age could be relied upon to claim exemption, and deaths would similarly be reported for obvious motives by the relatives of the deceased. It is probable that this system was now extended to Judaea; the interval was probably twelve years, for we are told that in Syria females were liable to poll-tax from the age of twelve, males as in Egypt from fourteen. The census was viewed with suspicion by the Jews. It was naturally, though probably wrongly, interpreted as a preliminary to additional taxation. It also involved a considerable disturbance, for every one was required to return to his domicile during the period of registration. The census was in fact carried through without much opposition, largely owing to the efforts of Joazar the son of Boethus, who had been restored to the high-priesthood, probably by the Sanhedrin, on Archelaus' deposition. But though the priestly aristocracy, probably supported by the conservative Pharisees, endeavoured to smooth the path of the Roman government, there was strong resentment among the mass of the people, which was encouraged by the left-wing Pharisees. The year of the census saw the birth of an extremist party, the Zealots. Its founders were a brigand leader named Judas of Gamala, a town in Gaulanitis, and a Pharisee named Sadduc: the combination is significant. The Zealots rejected the opportunist fatalism of the conservative Pharisees; God, they declared, would help only those that helped themselves, and it was the duty of every Jew to fight for national independence. The party developed into a powerful secret organization which waged an unrelenting campaign of assassination and terrorism, directed as much against the loyal Jews, whom they regarded as traitors to the national cause, as against the Roman government.

For the next thirty-five years Judaea, Samareitis, and Idumaea were under direct Roman rule. They were not added to the province of Syria, since the centralized bureaucratic

system on which they were governed could not readily be fitted into the normal provincial scheme, which relied on the elected authorities of the cities to carry on local government. They were instead entrusted to a special imperial officer, or prefect. The prefects were drawn not, like the ordinary provincial governors, from the ranks of the senatorial aristocracy, but from the second order of the Roman state, the equestrian order, which consisted at this time of the upper middle class of Italy. They came from a class which had a business tradition, and they had before they came to their province already acquired considerable military, financial, and administrative experience. They were thus admirably qualified to run the complicated bureaucratic machine which Herod had elaborated, and from this point of view their choice was not only wise but inevitable—a man of senatorial birth and training would have been incapable of coping with the mass of purely administrative work which was involved in the Herodian system of government. From the political point the choice was perhaps unfortunate. The Jews probably regarded the comparatively low rank of their governor as something of a slight, and the prefects lacked the easy authority and diplomatic tact which was the birth-right of the senatorial aristocracy.

The system of administration was maintained unchanged, and its personnel was probably recruited from the same sources. Even the army remained almost unaltered. Only one fresh unit is known to have been drafted in Judaea, a regiment of Roman citizens called the *cohors Italica*. The regular Roman army of occupation consisted of the five infantry regiments (*cohortes*) and one cavalry regiment (*ala*) of the Sebastenes, who, though officered by Romans, continued to be recruited from the cities of Sebaste and Caesarea.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The 'Roman soldiers' at the Crucifixion were in all probability drawn from these units.

This arrangement was unfortunate, for these cities were not unnaturally violently anti-Semite in sentiment, and the conduct of the troops they supplied was at times gratuitously provocative.

With the disappearance of the royal council the Sanhedrin came to some extent into its own again. It acted as an informal advisory council to the prefect, and it regained some of its powers as a court of law. It could try and punish minor offences, and it could try capital cases and present those whom it condemned to the prefect for execution. The prefect, however, in these cases was not bound by its decision and possessed full powers of life and death. It is not known whether the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin extended to other than religious cases. In other respects the Roman government took over in full the powers of control which Herod had exercised over the religious institutions of the Jews. The appointment of the high priests and the control of the temple and its funds were vested in the prefect. He maintained a garrison in the Antonia and policed the temple during festivals; he also retained custody of the vestments of the high priests, only handing them over for the days of the festivals.

The first four prefects are little more than names to us. Coponius continued the restoration of the temple: one of the gates of the great court is named after him. He was soon followed by Marcus Ambivius and he by Annias Rufus. These three ruled less than ten years between them. Tiberius shortly after his accession appointed Valerius Gratus, who ruled for eleven years (A.D. 15-26). His period of office is marked by difficulties with the priestly aristocracy. Since the annexation the high-priesthood had been held by Ananus or Annas the son of Seth, whom Quirinius had appointed, overruling the irregular re-election of Joazar the son of Boethus. Gratus deposed Ananus and appointed Ishmael the

son of Phabis. He was soon deposed in favour of Eleazar the son of Ananus; he in turn gave way to Simon the son of Camith, and he to Joseph Caiaphas, a son-in-law of Ananus. Caiaphas at last proved satisfactory, and continued to hold office throughout the long rule of Gratus' successor Pontius Pilate (A.D. 26-37). Pilate is chiefly known for his execution, on the request of the Sanhedrin, of Jesus of Nazareth. His relations with the Jews were not always so harmonious. He is credited by Philo, a Jewish contemporary, with all the standard vices of a Roman governor, venality, extortion, and lawless brutality. But Philo's rather conventional diatribe does not carry conviction, and it seems improbable that Tiberius, who kept a watchful eye on his governors in the interests of the provincials, would have kept Pilate at his post for ten years if he had been such a monster. Josephus' account does not bear out Philo's more serious charges. He seems in fact to have been a tactless and opinionated man, full of his own importance and of the dignity of his office; but he probably was no more corrupt or brutal than the ordinary run of Roman governors. At the beginning of his term he deeply offended Jewish sentiment by ordering his troops to carry their standards, which were adorned with images of the emperor, when they entered Jerusalem. This was an innovation, previous prefects having been careful to remove all offensive emblems from the standards when they entered Jewish territory, and it caused great indignation. A deputation was sent to Caesarea to protest against this violation of the law of Moses. Pilate refused at first to admit their request which was, he declared, derogatory to the majesty of the emperor, and endeavoured to intimidate the delegates by surrounding them with troops and threatening to massacre them. Finding them obdurate, however, he finally yielded. In a second dispute of a similar kind Pilate would seem, if Philo, who is our authority for it, is to be believed, to have

... ]S TIBERIEVM  
 ... PON]TIVSPILATVS  
 ... PRAEF]ECTVSIVDA[EA]E



The Inscription of Pontius Pilate at Caesarea



been entirely blameless. He dedicated a set of golden shields, which bore no image or offensive emblem but simply an inscription recording his own name and that of the emperor, in the royal palace at Jerusalem, which was his own official residence. What objection the Jews raised Philo does not record, but a tremendous agitation was aroused, and when Pilate was obdurate an appeal was sent, signed by four sons of Herod the Great, many other members of his family, and a large number of notables, to the emperor himself. Tiberius very sensibly yielded to the popular clamour and ordered the shields to be dedicated in the temple of Rome and Augustus at Caesarea. The incident is interesting as illustrative of the morbidly suspicious attitude of the Jews towards the Roman government and of the difficulty which even the best-intentioned prefect must have had in avoiding misunderstandings. Another quarrel with the Jews arose over the administration of the temple funds. The repairs of the temple were by now virtually completed, and Pilate very sensibly suggested that the accumulating funds should be put to the useful purpose of giving Jerusalem a good water-supply; Jerusalem, high on its hill in the midst of arid country, has always been liable to periodic water-shortages, and Pilate now proposed to build an aqueduct in order to tap a spring some twenty-four miles away. A terrific agitation was raised against this sacrilegious proposal and an ugly riot threatened; it was apparently one of the great festivals, for a large party of Galilaeans are recorded to have taken a leading part in the disorders. Pilate, after vainly ordering the people to disperse, turned his troops on to them. A promiscuous slaughter followed in which the blood of the Galilaeans was 'mingled with their sacrifices'. Pilate also had his troubles with the Samaritans. A prophet arose among them who bade them assemble upon their holy mountain, Gerizim, and he would show them the sacred vessels which, it had been revealed to



him, Moses had buried there. An immense concourse gathered at the neighbouring village of Tirathana, but Pilate, alarmed at the excited temper of the gathering, which was armed, forbade them to ascend the mountain and eventually dispersed them by military action, killing some of them and capturing others, whom he subsequently put to death. The national council of the Samaritans appealed to the legate of Syria, Vitellius, who happened, for reasons which appear later, to be in Jerusalem. He took an unfavourable view of Pilate's action and ordered him to go to Rome to stand his trial. So Pilate's eleven years' rule was ended (A.D. 37).

Salome died in about A.D. 10 and bequeathed her dominions, Jamnia and Azotus and Phasaelis with Archelais, to her old friend, the empress Livia. They subsequently passed into the imperial patrimony but continued to be administered as a separate unit under an imperial procurator. Both Archelaus' brothers had long reigns. Philip ruled until his death in A.D. 34. His principality, though extensive, was the poorest of the three; Antipas' share was worth twice and Archelaus' six times as much, and even Salome's portion brought in 60 talents to Philip's 100. On the other hand Philip was blessed in having few Jewish subjects and most of these loyal. In Gaulanitis there was a considerable admixture of Jews, and Jews of a fanatical type. Philip's only other Jewish subjects were the Babylonian colonists in Batanaea, who were not infected with the virus of nationalism. Philip was thus able to pursue an enlightened policy of Hellenization without recrimination; he even issued coins of normal type, with the emperor's head on the obverse. Despite his poverty he was able to make two foundations, both in the first decade of his reign. He rebuilt the village of Bethsaida on the north coast of the Sea of Galilee on an imposing scale and renamed it Julias in honour of the emperor's daughter, and at the springs of the Jordan, where Herod had built his temple of Rome and

Augustus, he founded a new city, Caesarea Paneas. It was predominantly pagan; there was a Jewish population, but it was comparatively small. It seems to have been a real city, enjoying self-government from the first, and it ruled quite an extensive territory. Philip thus promoted the civilization of the more settled western districts of his tetrarchy in the approved fashion of the time. The eastern districts were not yet ripe for such development, but Philip did not neglect them. The spirit of the Trachonites seems to have been broken by Herod's iron hand: we hear of no more revolts. Philip patiently weaned them from their barbarous habits of brigandage and inter-tribal feuds by his conscientious rule. It is recorded to his credit that he resided continually in his tetrarchy—he did not, like too many client princes, spend half his time hanging about the imperial court. Most of his time he spent on progress round his territories, personally supervising the administration; it is recorded that on his tours he carried round with him a portable throne, and wherever even the humblest of his subjects claimed justice from him, he would have the throne set up by the roadside and investigated the complaint and gave judgement on the spot. This intimate and paternal rule endeared him to the hearts of his rude subjects and he died universally mourned. Philip seems to have remained a bachelor till late in life, when he married Salome, who was his niece on her father's side and his great-niece on her mother's side, being the daughter of Herod, the son of Herod the Great, and Herodias, daughter of Aristobulus. He died without issue and on his death Tiberius annexed his tetrarchy. He did not, however, consider it ripe for direct Roman rule and he therefore ordered that the local administration should be provisionally maintained and the revenues kept separate from those of Syria till he should appoint a successor. He died before he could make up his mind on this point.

Antipas was the ablest of Herod's sons. He had a far more difficult task than Philip, for his tetrarchy, though more civilized and richer by far—despite its smaller area it brought in twice Philip's revenue—was entirely inhabited by Jews, and Jews of the most fanatical type; the Galilaeans and Peraeans, descended from the pagan inhabitants of these regions, who had been forcibly converted by the Hasmonaean kings, retained all the ardour of proselytes. That he managed to remain on tolerably good terms with his subjects—and there is no evidence of serious unrest save Strabo's apocryphal story of his impeachment in A.D. 6—is, therefore, strong testimony to his tact and firmness. For Antipas did not win acceptance of his rule by any weak concessions. He took his father as his model—like Archelaus he adopted the official style of Herod<sup>1</sup>—and not only continued his policy but carried it a stage farther.

Antipas took great pains to cultivate the friendship of his imperial patrons and was apparently a not infrequent visitor at Rome. Two inscriptions, at Cos and at Delos, bear witness to his journeys and further prove that he kept up the cordial relations which his father had established with the Greek cities. How successful he was with Augustus is not known, but he managed to win the esteem and friendship of Tiberius; it is good evidence in his favour, for Tiberius was a good *judge of character and discriminating in his choice of friends*. The high position which he won in the emperor's confidence was to prove useful to Antipas in his later life.

His journeys to Rome had another and less fortunate result. On one of them he paid a visit to his half-brother Herod,<sup>2</sup> who apparently lived in one of the Palestinian coastal cities,

<sup>1</sup> He is consistently called Herod in the Gospels: his title 'Herod the tetrarch' is correctly given in Matthew xiv. 1 and Luke ix. 7: in Mark v. 14 he is inaccurately called 'King Herod'.

<sup>2</sup> Not Philip as stated in Matthew xiv. 3 and Mark v. 17.

and fell violently in love with his host's wife, Herodias, who was also his own niece. Herodias was ambitious and she was tired of her elderly and unenterprising husband, who, though he had once been named by his father as heir presumptive to the throne of Judaea, made no attempt to push his claims. She therefore welcomed the advances of her equally elderly lover—Antipas must have been getting on for fifty when these events occurred—who was at least a tetrarch. She consented to marry him on his return from Rome, but she made one condition: he must divorce his wife. For Antipas was already married, having contracted a prudent dynastic match with the daughter of Aretas, the Nabataean king, whose dominions touched his own in the south-eastern corner of the Peraea. Antipas obediently promised to do as Herodias wished but pleaded for time; he would see to it when he returned from Rome. Unfortunately his wife got wind of his intentions during his absence and determined to anticipate him. She went to stay at Machaerus, the southernmost fortress of Peraea, and, having made arrangements with her father's governor over the border, made good her escape to Petra. Antipas' second marriage was thus doubly disastrous. Aretas was highly indignant at his scurvy treatment of his daughter and waited patiently for an opportunity for revenge. Jewish sentiment was offended at his marrying his half-brother's wife, when she already had issue by her first husband. For Herodias had a little daughter by Herod, whom she brought with her to Antipas. She was that Salome whom Philip later married.

Antipas was, like his father, a zealous builder of cities. Early in his reign he rebuilt Betharamphtha, which had been burnt down in the riots of 4 B.C., on a grand scale and renamed it Livias in honour of the empress; the name was subsequently changed to Julias when Livia on Augustus' death was adopted into the Julian gens, but the first name had by then taken

root and survived despite the official change till the sixth century A.D. Livias was not granted autonomy and remained a mere town, the administrative capital of its toparchy. He also rebuilt Sepphoris, which Varus had demolished in 4 B.C., renaming it Autocratoris in honour of the emperor's title; the name died out almost at once. As Varus had sold the original population as slaves, Antipas must presumably have re-peopled it also. Later in his reign he founded a completely new city, named Tiberias after his imperial patron. It was situated on the west shore of the lake of Galilee; the site was admirable but it caused murmurings among strict Jews because there had been some graves on it which were demolished. The population was drawn partly from the Galilaean peasantry compulsorily moved in, partly from miscellaneous settlers attracted by the offer of free land and houses and other privileges. Many members of the official nobility were also enrolled to form the aristocracy of the city. Both these foundations were innovations of a highly interesting type in that they were autonomous Jewish cities. There is no doubt that the population of both Sepphoris and Tiberias was predominantly Jewish; the governing class in both cities seems to have been wholly Jewish. There is also no doubt that Tiberias had a regular Greek constitution; we hear of its council of 500 members and of various of its magistrates. And it is highly probable that Sepphoris was also a genuine city; it certainly was so by the end of the century when like Tiberias it issued its own coinage. Their civic administration was to some extent under royal control; we hear of a royal commandant of the city at Tiberias. But this limitation of autonomy they shared with the pagan cities subject to the Herodian dynasty and indeed with most cities subject to kings. They also fell short of true city status in that they had no territories: the competence of the civic magistrates was confined within the walls, and the surrounding country con-

tinued to be administered by the crown as a toparchy. Nevertheless these two foundations were a striking step forward in the policy of hellenizing the Jewish people, and they indicate that the policy had already achieved some measure of success. Herod had not thought the Jews fit for autonomy or had not dared to entrust them with it. His cities had all been pagan and the towns he had built on Jewish territory had been administered by his own officials. Antipas' cautious experiment shows that he thought he could trust the loyalty of the Jewish upper classes: for the constitution of the cities was, as generally in the Roman empire, despite a show of democracy, aristocratic in substance, and the power rested with the well-to-do classes who were alone entitled to sit on the council and hold magistracies.

From an independent source we learn on what Antipas' confidence was based. The Gospels reveal the existence during his reign of a new party among the Jews, the Herodians. The party probably comprised not merely the official aristocracy which the dynasty had created and which was dependent on its favour, but many Jews of standing. It was definitely pro-Roman—the test question on the tribute put by its members to Jesus proves this—but it apparently preferred the indirect rule of Rome through its loyal agents, the Herodian dynasty. This change of heart was no doubt caused in part by the discovery that direct Roman rule, as exemplified in the province of Judaea, was not such a bed of roses as had been anticipated, and the realization that the Herodian kings might be a useful buffer against the arrogance and intolerance of the average equestrian governor. Antipas' experiment was justified by results. The governing classes of Sepphoris and Tiberias were conspicuously loyal to the Herodian dynasty and to the Roman government during the Great Rebellion despite the revolutionary leanings of their humbler citizens.

It is significant that Antipas ventured to adorn his palace at Tiberias with statues, and, what is more, that these statues remained intact and apparently raised no offence till the Great Rebellion, when Josephus (the historian), then in reluctant command of the Galilaeen insurgents, with difficulty induced the local authorities to permit their demolition as a comparatively harmless way in which his too enthusiastic followers could let off a little steam. It would seem that the cultured and well-to-do Jews who formed the governing body of Tiberias had no very strong feelings about the second commandment. But this local ebullition of Hellenism does not seem to have been incompatible with an understanding with the Pharisees. Antipas' coins are in strict accord with the Mosaic law; even in the last years of his reign, when his overlord was Gaius, who took his divinity very seriously and visited condign punishment on any one who showed the least disrespect to his dignity, Antipas did not put the imperial portrait on his coins but confined himself to inscribing them with the emperor's name. And the Pharisees seem to have supported his government. They co-operated with the Herodians in the attempt to trap Jesus into a treasonable reply on the question of the tribute.

Of the loyalty of the masses Antipas was less sure, and he watched them carefully. His reign was troubled by two religious revivals. One was headed by John, the son of a priest named Zacharias, who went about the Peraea proclaiming the imminent arrival of the kingdom of God. His doctrine was to all appearances harmless; he only urged the people to repent of their sins and he washed them in the Jordan in token of their change of heart, whence he was popularly nicknamed John the Dipper. But Antipas knew only too well what these religious revivals led to—'the kingdom of God' was an ambiguous phrase and for the Zealots and the majority of the lower classes had distinctly revolutionary

implications. Moreover John was so bold as to urge Antipas himself to repentance for his illegal marriage, and this savoured of treason. So Antipas had him arrested and incarcerated in the fortress of Machaerus on the extreme edge of his dominions. He apparently did not mean to execute him; he was afraid of arousing popular indignation and he may even, as the Gospels assert, have been impressed by his personality. But Herodias was resolved to avenge the slight he had put upon her and she eventually found her opportunity. Once, when Antipas was holding a banquet with his nobles at Machaerus, his step-daughter, the little Salome, danced before the company. Antipas applauded loudly and bade her name her reward, pledging his royal oath to grant it to her. Salome had been coached what to say by her mother, and asked for John's head upon a dish. Antipas was taken aback but he thought it beneath his dignity to go back on his word, especially in the presence of his friends, for the sake of a low-class agitator. So he ordered John to be executed and the head was produced on a dish. John was followed by another revivalist, in Galilee this time, Jesus of Nazareth. Antipas did not interfere with him. According to the Gospels he was filled with a superstitious fear that Jesus was John come back to life, and resolved to meddle with prophets no more. More probably he was putting off the evil day; Jesus' teaching does not seem at the time to have made so much stir as John's and he may have hoped the revival would die down quietly. In the event his procrastination was justified. Jesus was arrested at Jerusalem, where he had gone to celebrate the Passover, and Antipas was thus spared the unpopular task of dealing with him. The prefect, Pontius Pilate, did, indeed, on hearing that Jesus was a Galilaean, try to fob off the responsibility on to Antipas, who was in Jerusalem at the time also celebrating the Passover. But Antipas wisely refused to have anything to do with the case, and he thus avoided the



odium of crucifying Christ. There can, however, be little doubt that he was relieved at the death of his troublesome subject; he showed his gratitude to Pilate by abandoning the hostile attitude which he had hitherto, ever since the incident of the shields, adopted towards him.

In A.D. 36 Antipas received a signal proof of the confidence which the emperor reposed in him. Delicate negotiations were proceeding between Tiberius and Artabanus, the Great King of Parthia, and Antipas was selected to act as mediator between Artabanus and the emperor's representative, Lucius Vitellius, legate of Syria. The negotiations were successful and Antipas had the privilege of acting as a host at the magnificent banquet, held in a pavilion built on a bridge over the Euphrates, the frontier of the two empires, at which the agreement was ratified. Anxious to win due credit for his labours, Antipas immediately wrote a confidential dispatch to the emperor, and succeeded in getting it delivered before Vitellius' official report arrived. His officious zeal had unfortunate results. Tiberius was, it is true, gratified, and sent a cold reply to Vitellius' letter informing him that he already had full news of the success of the negotiations from a more zealous agent. But Tiberius had not long to live, and Vitellius, who was naturally furious at the snub which Antipas had brought upon him, was to be a power in the next reign.

*Antipas was not to enjoy his triumph long.* Aretas had long been brooding over his wrongs and, now that his enemy's patron Tiberius was growing old and seemed to be losing grip, he seized the opportunity of Antipas' absence on the Euphrates to attack his principality, using as a pretext a dispute about the boundaries of the south-eastern Peraea. Antipas' generals were disastrously defeated owing to the defection of a part of the army, Trachonites whose sympathies lay more with the Arabian king than their Jewish paymaster. Antipas appealed at once to Tiberius, and Tiberius

ordered Vitellius to use the Roman army to reduce Aretas to obedience. This direct command Vitellius could not disobey, and he reluctantly marched down with two legions and their complement of auxiliaries, as well as detachments from client kings. On his entering Judaea the Jews very opportunely raised an outcry against the standards being carried through their land, and Vitellius, not unwilling to delay the campaign he was compelled to wage on his enemy's behalf, obligingly diverted the march of his army along the coastal plain. He himself meanwhile filled in time by attending the Passover at Jerusalem (A.D. 37). He received a warm welcome from the Jews and he was very gracious to them. He abolished a tax on the sale of agricultural produce in Jerusalem. He transferred the custody of the high-priestly vestments from the Roman government to the temple authorities. He also, apparently on the request of the Sanhedrin, deposed Joseph Caiaphas and appointed as high priest Jonathan, or in Greek Theophilus, the son of Ananus. It was on this occasion also that, as recorded above, he deposed the prefect, Pontius Pilate, in deference to the complaints of the Samaritan community.

Whilst Vitellius was occupied with these reforms, news came that Tiberius was dead. He immediately withdrew his army to their regular winter quarters, declaring that he could not continue the campaign without instructions from the new emperor. Antipas was soon to have even greater cause to regret his old patron's death.

## VI

### AGRIPPA I

**A**GRIPPA's rise to power was even more dramatic than Herod the Great's, though scarcely so heroic. His birth gave him no special claim to advancement. He was one of the three sons of Aristobulus, the younger of Herod's two sons by Mariamme, and when he was only three years old his father was executed for treason (7 B.C.). But his upbringing gave him a good start. His mother Berenice, Salome's daughter, packed him off to Rome at once and gave him good introductions. His maternal grandmother Salome was an old friend of the empress Livia and his mother was intimate with Antonia, the daughter of Antony and wife of Drusus, Tiberius' brother, who died not long after Agrippa's arrival in Rome. He thus came into intimate contact with the imperial family. As a boy he must have known Antonia's brilliant elder son, Germanicus, who was five years his senior. He certainly was familiar with her younger son Claudius, then regarded as a backward boy, who was his exact contemporary. He formed a particular friendship with Tiberius' son Drusus, who was three years older than himself. As he grew up Agrippa became a popular figure in Roman society. He was possessed of wit and charm, and he spent his money liberally. As long as his mother was alive his extravagance was kept within the bounds of the allowance which she sent to him; he was afraid of his mother and did not dare to run up debts in case she should hear of them. When she died he flung off all restraint, entertaining with wild extravagance and making lavish presents, especially to the freedmen of the imperial household. For though he was a natural spendthrift and to his dying day never realized the value of money, there was method in his seemingly crazy prodigality. He had set his

heart on a tetrarchy, and he was preparing the ground by making himself popular in influential circles. He rapidly ran through his share of his mother's fortune and then proceeded to pile up enormous debts; he seems to have been one of those fortunate persons who can always raise money on their expectations. Time went on and his expectations did not mature. Tiberius unfortunately did not hold with client kingdoms and annexed them at every opportunity, and, even if a vacancy had occurred, it is unlikely that he would have chosen Agrippa; he liked him personally well enough, but he did not approve of the frivolous set amongst which he moved. Agrippa's hopes lay with the younger generation, but here again misfortune dogged his footsteps. Whether he had any expectations of Germanicus, who was heir apparent to the empire at the beginning of Tiberius' reign, is not known, but if he had they were soon disappointed by Germanicus' premature death in A.D. 18. Five years later he suffered a worse blow in the death of Drusus, whom he had particularly cultivated. Not only was his own patron dead, from whom he had expected great things when he became emperor, but Tiberius, cut to the heart by the death of his only son, refused to see any of Drusus' friends lest they should remind him of his grief. As time went on Agrippa's prospects steadily sank. Tiberius was, during this period, coming more and more under the influence of his praetorian prefect, Sejanus, who seemed likely to be named as his successor, and Sejanus looked with little favour on the hangers-on of his principal rivals, Germanicus' widow Agrippina and her sons. In these circumstances Agrippa found it more and more difficult to raise credit. One day he made an unobtrusive departure from Rome and, leaving many angry creditors behind him, retired to Malatha, a fortress in Idumaea which he had apparently been unable to sell.

Country life in the remote land of his ancestors did not

suit Agrippa. Brooding over the disappointment of all his high hopes, he became extremely depressed and even, it is said, attempted suicide. He was restrained by his wife, Cyprus. She was his first cousin, her mother Salampsio having been the sister of Aristobulus; on her father's side she was a granddaughter of Phasael, Herod's elder brother. Made of solider stuff than her mercurial husband, she was to comfort and support him through all his troubles. She now wrote to his sister Herodias, who had recently become Antipas' queen, and begged her to use her influence with her husband in Agrippa's favour. Antipas did not greatly approve of his spendthrift nephew, but he was induced to give him a modest competence, granting him the post of notary public in his new foundation Tiberias. Agrippa accepted, but he chafed at his humdrum duties in an obscure provincial town and the meagre reward he got for them. He chafed still more at Antipas' avuncular advice; for Antipas did not fail to rub in the follies of his youthful extravagance and to take great credit for his own generosity. Eventually there was a violent quarrel. At a public banquet at Tyre, Antipas tactlessly pointed out to the assembly that Agrippa owed the very food he was eating to his kindness. Agrippa, who was rather drunk, told him exactly what he thought of him and precipitately left the table. He now attached himself to L. Pomponius Flaccus, the legate of Syria, whom he had known in Rome. Flaccus gave him a friendly welcome, and often took his advice on local affairs. Unfortunately he had also in his entourage Agrippa's younger brother Aristobulus. The two brothers were not on good terms, and Aristobulus was doubtless annoyed at Agrippa's poaching on his preserves. He soon found an opportunity of turning him out. The Damascenes had a dispute with the Sidonians over their common boundary, and hearing that Agrippa had influence with Flaccus they offered him a present. Agrippa was successful in inducing

Flaccus to see the Damascenes' point of view, but Aristobulus got wind of the transaction and exposed his brother. Flaccus was furious with Agrippa for having made a fool of him and Agrippa had to leave.

He now went to Ptolemais. He was extremely hard up but his prospects were not quite so black, for Sejanus had fallen in A.D. 31. He determined to go back to Rome, if only he could raise the money. There was, living at Ptolemais, an old freedman of his mother's named Peter. One of his freedmen, Marsyas, approached him and asked for a loan on his master's note of hand. Peter thought the speculation worth while and lent him 17,500 drachmae: he made out the bond for 20,000, to cover an old debt. Armed with this money Agrippa travelled down to Anthedon and booked a passage to Alexandria. But while he was waiting for his ship to sail Herennius Capito, imperial procurator of the deceased Salome's dominions, heard of his presence and sent a squad of soldiers from Jamnia to arrest him for a debt of 300,000 drachmae owed to the imperial treasury; it is to be inferred that some of Agrippa's creditors had been condemned for treason in the orgy of prosecutions that was now going on, and that Agrippa's bonds had passed with the rest of their property to the treasury. Agrippa submitted quietly, but when night came on he gave his guards the slip and induced his captain to sail at once. He arrived safely at Alexandria, and went straight to Alexander, a rich man of the Jewish community who held the important post of alabarch or collector of customs for the eastern desert frontier. Agrippa had a rather shadowy claim to his services, for Alexander had been manager of his patroness Antonia's property, and on the strength of this indirect connexion he asked for a loan of 200,000 drachmae. Alexander was less trustful than Peter but he at last yielded to Cyprus' entreaties and accepted her bond for the sum. He paid over 50,000 in cash, and gave

Agrippa a draft on Puteoli for the rest; for he did not trust him and wanted to be sure that he at least went to Italy. Cyprus now went back with the children to Judaea and Agrippa went on alone to Rome (A.D. 36).

Having arrived at Puteoli and cashed his draft he wrote a letter to Tiberius, who was living at Capreae, asking permission to visit him. Tiberius replied graciously and Agrippa went and paid his respects. But the next day a dispatch arrived from Herennius Capito, announcing that he had attempted to arrest Agrippa for a debt of 300,000 drachmae to the treasury and that Agrippa had evaded him. Tiberius immediately ordered that Agrippa should be refused admittance till the debt was paid. Agrippa now turned to his mother's old friend Antonia, who came to the rescue and lent him the 300,000 drachmae demanded for the treasury. Having settled this debt Agrippa was readmitted to Tiberius' favour and became a frequent visitor at Capreae. In his immediate object, which was to accuse Antipas of treason, he was not successful: Tiberius refused to listen to any charges against his old favourite. But he began to make useful friendships. Tiberius assigned him to attend his young grandson, Tiberius, the son of Agrippa's old friend Drusus. But Agrippa thought it more profitable to cultivate Gaius, the only surviving son of Germanicus, who was generally expected to be Tiberius' successor. With the brightening of his prospects he succeeded in raising a loan of 1,000,000 drachmae from an imperial freedman named Thallus and out of this he repaid Antonia her 300,000. The rest he spent on entertaining Gaius.

Gaius and he soon became very intimate. One day when they were driving together in Agrippa's chariot Agrippa remarked to Gaius that he wished Tiberius would leave the stage soon and leave it to Gaius, who was in every way so much better qualified to rule. The remark was indiscreet,

but they were alone—except for the driver, a freedman of Agrippa's called Eutychus. No harm would have been done had not Agrippa discovered that Eutychus had been stealing his clothes and threatened to punish him. Eutychus ran away and was arrested by Piso, the prefect of the city. When he was charged he put in a plea that he had information against his master touching the emperor's safety. Piso remanded him and sent him in chains to Capreae. There he remained in prison for some while, for Tiberius was growing more and more dilatory as he grew old. Agrippa found the suspense intolerable and begged Antonia to use her influence with Tiberius to try the case and get it over; he felt apparently quite confident that he could rebut the charge against him. Antonia approached Tiberius on the subject, but Tiberius warned her to leave well alone. Agrippa persisted and Antonia promised to make a second attempt. Tiberius was at one of his villas at Tusculum, close to Rome. It was afternoon, and he was taking the air after dinner, being carried round the hippodrome in his litter. Antonia and Gaius and Agrippa were with him. Antonia thought it a favourable opportunity to press her request. Tiberius again protested that he would prefer to leave the matter over, but yielded under pressure, and Macro, the praetorian prefect, was ordered to produce Eutychus. He was shortly brought in and Tiberius interrogated him. When he had told his story, Tiberius turned to Macro and said, 'Take the man to prison', and then ordered his slaves to continue the round of the hippodrome. Macro was not sure which man he was supposed to take into custody and he felt somewhat embarrassed at arresting Agrippa. When Tiberius came round again he found the group still standing awkwardly, wondering what would happen next. He glanced at them impatiently and said sharply to Macro, 'That is the man I mean', but pointed to neither. At length Macro asked him directly whom he was



to arrest. 'Agrippa', replied Tiberius. Agrippa began to protest his innocence and to remind Tiberius of his friendship with Drusus and the young Tiberius. But Tiberius cut him short: he knew quite well that Agrippa had been *neglecting his grandson to curry favour with Gaius*, and he rightly concluded that the treasonable remark was genuine. Agrippa was led off at once, still dressed in his purple robes. As he was being marched away he appealed for a drink of water; the afternoon was hot and Tiberius had not given them much wine with their dinner. One of Gaius' slaves, a man named Thaumastus, ran and fetched him a glass and Agrippa somewhat theatrically promised that he should be richly rewarded on his release from prison.

Antonia did not desert her protégé. She could not get him out of prison, but she contrived to make life as comfortable for him as circumstances permitted. She persuaded Macro to detail an obliging centurion and soldiers of civilized manners to guard him. She got permission for him to go to the baths every day and receive visitors. His faithful follower Silas and his freedmen Marsyas and Stachus were allowed to bring him decent bedding and palatable food. Agrippa thus did not lack creature comforts. Nor was his case desperate, for Tiberius fell seriously ill shortly after his arrest. Nevertheless Agrippa spent an anxious six months, wondering every day whether his own death sentence or the news of Tiberius' death would arrive first.

A curious tale is told of Agrippa's arrival in the prison camp. He was leaning disconsolately against a tree, waiting to be led to his cell, when an owl alighted on a branch above him. One of the other prisoners, an old German, observed the incident with interest, and having inquired of the soldier to whom he was chained who the striking figure in purple was, he asked to talk to him. He told him that he was skilled in divination by birds, and this owl was a good omen; his

god had sent it to him to tell him that he would soon be released and restored to his former dignity. But, he warned him, when he should see that owl again, he should know that in five days' time he would die. Agrippa was greatly amused at the old man's solemnity: he was to remember his prophecy before eight years were out.

One day in the middle of March (A.D. 37) as he was coming out of the bath his freedman Marsyas came running up with a smiling face and whispered to him in Hebrew, 'The lion is dead.' Agrippa thanked him warmly for the news and the centurion, suspecting that it must be something important from their air of jubilation, asked what the good news was. Agrippa put him off for a while, for Marsyas was relying only on a rumour and it would be awkward if the news proved false after all, but eventually he confided Marsyas' message to him. The centurion had come to like him and was highly pleased. He took off his chains and they celebrated the good news with a dinner. As they were drinking, some one came and told him that the rumour was false and that Tiberius was not only alive but was on his way to Rome. He was terrified; his precipitate release of Agrippa and his rejoicings over the emperor's death were likely to cost him his life. He angrily thrust Agrippa back into his cell and treated him with the utmost severity, threatening to report him next day for spreading treasonable rumours. But next day the rumour that Tiberius was dead grew stronger and every one began to look more cheerful, until at last official confirmation came in a dispatch from Gaius to the senate and the prefect of the city. Orders presently arrived that Agrippa should be removed from the praetorian camp and allowed to live under guard in his own house. The funeral was held, and after a decent interval—Antonia insisted on her grandson's showing this much respect for Tiberius' memory—Agrippa was fetched to the palace, and having been shaved, and dressed

in new clothes, was crowned king of Philip's tetrarchy. Gaius gave him a golden chain of equal weight to that which he had worn as a prisoner. The subservient senate granted him the titular rank of praetor. Agrippa was in no hurry to take over his kingdom. He stayed in Rome for eighteen months. But eventually, in the autumn of A.D. 38, he sought the emperor's permission to go for a short visit to set his affairs in order, and sailed for Alexandria. Here he met with an unpleasant reception. The Jewish community naturally came out to welcome him, rejoicing in the honours paid by the emperor to a Jewish king and hoping to find in him a powerful champion of their rights. The Greek population could not be expected to be so enthusiastic, but their actual conduct was worse than chilly. They dressed up a well-known idiot of the name of Carabas in a carpet for a royal robe, and putting a papyrus crown on his head and a stalk of papyrus for a sceptre in his hand, paid court to him in the gymnasium, acclaiming him with the cry 'Marein, Marein!' (Syriac for 'My lord, my lord'). The Alexandrians had for long been notorious for their anti-Semitism, but this insult to a recently honoured favourite of the emperor was ominous. Agrippa was the more annoyed and alarmed when the prefect of Egypt, Aulus Avillius Flaccus, did nothing to stop the demonstrations, and when the Jews confided to him that Flaccus, who had hitherto treated them with fairness, had changed his tone since Gaius' accession. He had refused them permission to send a delegation to congratulate Gaius on his accession, and though he had promised to forward their loyal address, it appeared that he had done nothing about it. Agrippa took the address and promised to see that it was delivered to the emperor. He then hastily left the unfriendly city and proceeded on his journey to Palestine.

The explanation of Flaccus' conduct was that he was afraid for his own skin. He had been a trusted friend of Tiberius,

and Gaius had no liking for his predecessor's friends. He had also been intimate with Macro, Tiberius' last praetorian prefect, and Macro had soon fallen from favour on Gaius' accession. His fears were played upon by the principal men among the Alexandrians, who possessed considerable influence at court and threatened to use it against him unless he altered his policy to the Jews. The cause of the insolence of the Alexandrians was the growing extravagance of Gaius' claim to divine honours. In this tendency they saw a possible handle against the Jews, who they knew would never consent to worship the emperor as a god. Since Gaius was much more explicit in his claims for worship and evidently took his divinity more seriously than previous emperors, it might be hoped that his anger would be roused against the impious people who refused to worship him. In their jubilation over the coming downfall of their enemies the Alexandrians did not spare even one whom the emperor had honoured: he too, they hoped, would be involved in his nation's destruction.

Directly Agrippa left Alexandria, the storm broke. Encouraged by Flaccus' complacent attitude to their recent demonstrations, the Alexandrians held an assembly in the theatre and demanded that statues of Gaius should be dedicated in the Jewish synagogues. This was a flagrant breach of established Jewish privileges, but Flaccus was afraid that his refusal might be interpreted as disrespect to the emperor's divinity, and he yielded to the popular demand. Riots naturally followed. Many synagogues were burnt down by the mob. The rest were desecrated with statues; as there were not enough statues of Gaius to go round, old statues of Ptolemaic kings and even of Cleopatra were dragged out of the gymnasium to do duty for the emperor. Flaccus was now induced to issue an edict revoking the privileged status of the Jews, who though not citizens of Alexandria had corporate rights as valuable as the citizenship. He also apparently

confined them to one ward of the city. There was no legal ghetto in Alexandria, and many Jews lived scattered over the town, but of the five wards of the city, one, Delta, near the old royal palace by the harbour, was predominantly Jewish in population, and another contained a large proportion of Jews. The whole Jewish community was now crowded into Delta. The overcrowding and destitution were terrible. The refugees camped in the cemeteries and on the beaches. They were starving, for the ward was virtually in a state of siege and if any Jew ventured out to earn his living or buy provisions he was promptly stoned or clubbed by the mob or dragged round the streets at the end of a rope. Outside in the city the mob had free play. The Jewish shops were looted, four hundred houses were plundered and destroyed, their owners, if they were caught, being burnt alive on pyres consisting of their own furniture. Flaccus now added insult to injury by ordering that the Jewish quarter should be searched for arms. Squads of soldiers went round from house to house, followed by a jeering crowd, and turned everything upside down, penetrating even the jealously guarded women's quarters and subjecting their occupants to the grossest indignities. Finally Flaccus celebrated Gaius' birthday by arresting thirty-eight members of the governing body of the Jewish community and having them publicly flogged in the theatre.

Flaccus did not save himself by his subservience to the Alexandrians. One day a ship put in from Rome, a centurion and a squad of troops disembarked and marched to the palace, and Flaccus departed under arrest. The Jews owed the fall of their persecutor to Agrippa. He knew how to handle Gaius, and in his covering letter to the loyal address of the Jewish community, which he had forwarded according to his promise, he had skilfully represented Flaccus' action in holding it back as *lèse-majesté*. Who Flaccus' successor was and what policy

he pursued we do not know, but things seem to have become quieter in Alexandria.

Meanwhile Agrippa had been busy about his own affairs. His return to Palestine as a king roused bitter jealousy in the heart of his sister Herodias, who had only a few years back patronized him as a penniless vagabond. The glories of the tetrarchy for which she had married Antipas were turned to dust and ashes by comparison with Agrippa's kingdom next door. She refused to tolerate the ignominy of her husband's ranking lower than his scapegrace nephew, and she never ceased urging him to go to Rome and get even with him. Antipas was at first obstinate. He was very comfortable as he was, and at his age he did not want to take unnecessary risks; he had felt safe with Tiberius but he knew little about the young emperor and what little he did know was not reassuring. However, by persistent nagging, Herodias at last got her way and in the spring of 39 Antipas started with a heavy heart for Rome. His gloomy anticipations were justified. Directly Agrippa heard of his intentions he dispatched one of his freedmen, Fortunatus, with an accusation against him to Gaius. Fortunatus travelled faster than Antipas and arrived at Rome only a few days later than he; Antipas had just been received when he delivered his letter. The letter accused Antipas of having been privy to Sejanus' conspiracy against Tiberius and being now in league with Artabanus of Parthia; as evidence of his treasonable designs it asserted that Antipas had equipment for 70,000 men in his armouries. The last statement was in fact true, and Antipas was obliged to admit it, while Vitellius, now in high favour, no doubt confirmed the story of the Parthian intrigue. Gaius promptly deposed him and banished him to Lugdunum Convenarum (St-Bertrand de Comminges, Haute Garonne). To Herodias, as Agrippa's sister, he offered pardon and the retention of her personal estate, but it is to be recorded to her credit that she

refused to desert the old husband whom she had brought to ruin and consoled his declining years in exile. Gaius ungraciously confiscated her property and granted it to Agrippa. Agrippa seems to have visited Gaius in the autumn of the same year; he received Antipas' tetrarchy as a reward for his vigilant loyalty.

On his return he passed through Alexandria and he was again asked by the Jews to use his influence with the emperor on their behalf. They had composed a lengthy petition recounting their wrongs and asking for redress and for the confirmation of their rights, and at their request Agrippa forwarded it to Gaius. In the same winter (39-40) the Jewish community received permission to send a deputation to Gaius to plead their cause orally. One of the five delegates was Philo, and he has left a vivid account of their adventures. The city naturally sent a counter-delegation, and when both parties had arrived at Rome there were long preliminary manoeuvres to secure an audience. The Alexandrian delegates had the initial advantage that one of Gaius' favourite slaves, Helicon, was an Egyptian. He willingly helped them, refusing substantial offers from the Jews, who were reduced to despair. They had decided to give up hope of a hearing and send in a written appeal, briefly recapitulating their previous letter, and if this produced *no results to return to Alexandria*, when one day they managed to catch Gaius' eye as he was riding through the Campus Martius. Gaius was unexpectedly gracious, and a message was brought by Hilarus, his secretary for delegations, promising an immediate audience so soon as pressure of business would permit. There were still some further delays. Gaius moved from Rome to Puteoli, and the Jews followed him. Here they heard terrible news.

The success of the Alexandrian pogrom had encouraged other similar attempts. At Jamnia there was a bitter feud

between the Jews and the Greeks. The town had been conquered by the early Maccabaeen kings and the bulk of the population was Jewish, but there was a powerful pagan minority. One night some Greeks broke into a synagogue and built in it an altar to Gaius. It was a rough affair of sun-baked bricks, and the Jews, when they discovered it, demolished it without more ado. The incident was reported to the procurator of the district, the same Herennius Capito who had unsuccessfully tried to arrest Agrippa a few years before, and he, only too pleased to be able to get a vicarious revenge on the Jewish king, sent a dispatch to Gaius, informing him of the sacrilegious act of the Jews against his divinity. Gaius' temper was now up and he determined that he would endure these insolent Jews no longer. He sent orders to Petronius, whom he had recently appointed legate of Syria, to erect a colossal statue of himself in the character of Zeus in the Holy of Holies; if any resistance was offered it was to be crushed. Petronius did not like the task imposed upon him, and though he dared not disobey he moved as slowly as he decently could. He had received his orders in the autumn of 39. He moved down to Ptolemais in the winter with two legions and a large body of auxiliaries, but he did not divulge his purpose. Gaius had fortunately neither sent a statue nor ordered him to use one already in existence, so Petronius determined to be as long as possible in making one. He placed the order in Sidon, and told the sculptors that he wanted them to spare no pains; the work must be of the first quality and designed to last; time was not essential. Late next spring, when the corn was already ripening, he summoned a number of leading Jews and announced to them the emperor's orders and urged them to submit quietly. His pleas were met with an obdurate refusal. When the news was carried back to Judaea there was general consternation. A mass demonstration was organized at Ptolemais. Thousands of Jews, arranged in orderly ranks



in six divisions—old men, young men, and boys, old women, young women, and girls—marched upon the city and besieged Petronius. They protested their loyalty to the empire, but they asseverated that on no consideration could they endure the proposed sacrilege. They would offer no resistance, but they begged him, if he would not relent, to kill them first, since they could not live to see the temple desecrated. Petronius was impressed, but he thought it wise to conceal his feelings. He replied that he was only an agent of the emperor and the emperor's will must be done. He wrote privately, however, to Gaius. He did not dare to propose that the project should be abandoned, but explained that the making of a worthy statue had entailed some delay, and that as the temper of the Jews seemed desperate, would it not be wise to postpone the matter till the autumn? If he proceeded now there was a serious risk that the harvest would be lost; for the Jews were in a suicidal mood and would refuse to gather it. He understood that the emperor was intending to visit Alexandria in person and would actually be passing by this coast on his way. It would be embarrassing for his commissariat if the whole country was a desert.

If Petronius hoped that this gentle hint would make Gaius see reason, he was disappointed. Gaius saw what he meant and he was annoyed. He wrote back graciously—for he was afraid of his legates and did not dare to be provocative to them except when carried away by a fit of fury—commending Petronius' caution but ordering him to proceed at once: the harvest must by now be in, and there was no further reason for delay. This letter reached Petronius in the autumn. He moved across to Tiberias. Here again a mass demonstration was organized. The whole country was deserted and the fields lay unploughed, though it was time to sow for next year. He was also approached by an influential deputation including Agrippa's brother Aristobulus, and Helcias, who

was to be his commander-in-chief, and other prominent notables, who begged him to ask Gaius to reconsider his decision. Petronius at length resolved that, come what would, he could not sacrifice a whole people to the emperor's folly. He wrote to Gaius begging him to withdraw his order, and he promised the Jews that if Gaius persisted he would disobey him. Meanwhile, he urged them to get on with their ploughing and sowing before winter set in. The Jews joyfully obeyed, and it was observed as a good omen that the rains, which had hitherto been light, now began in earnest.

The delegates of the Jewish community at Alexandria had meanwhile at last been granted their promised audience. After the recent terrible news they had little cause for hope and much for fear, and they obeyed the summons with sinking hearts. But they found Gaius in a light-hearted mood. He received them and the Alexandrian delegates simultaneously in the gardens of Macaenas and Lamia, which he was planning to lay out afresh; he was impatient to get on to this more interesting business and he had his architects in attendance. The Jews bowed down before him and saluted him as Augustus and Imperator. Gaius glowered at them. 'So you are the enemies of the gods', he replied, 'who will not recognize me as a god, when all the rest of the world acknowledges me, but prefer to worship a god whose name you do not know yourselves.' He proceeded to make some blasphemous remarks with which Philo refuses to sully his pen. At this auspicious opening the Alexandrian delegates waved their arms and danced for joy, acclaiming Gaius with the names of all the gods, and their spokesman Isidore intervened. 'Sire', he said, 'you will loathe these persons and their fellow countrymen all the more when you learn their ill will and impiety towards you. When all the world was offering sacrifice of thanksgiving for your good health, they alone refused

to sacrifice. And when I say "they" I include the rest of the Jews.' The Jews protested: 'Sire, we are maligned. We sacrificed and we sacrificed hecatombs; we did not merely sprinkle the blood on the altars and then carry the flesh home for a banquet, as some persons do; we burnt the entire offerings in the sacred flame. And we have done this already not once, but three times. First on your accession; secondly when you recovered from that severe illness in which the whole world suffered with you; and thirdly in the expectation of your German victory.' 'Granted that what you say is true,' replied Gaius, 'you have sacrificed, but to another and not for my benefit. What is the good of that? You have not sacrificed to me.' He then, ignoring further protests, walked rapidly away with his architects and began inspecting the various pavilions, examining their ceilings and pavements and criticizing various points of detail. The Jews panted after him, followed by the jeering Alexandrians. Suddenly Gaius turned to them: 'Why do you abstain from pork?' he asked solemnly. Roars of laughter from the Alexandrians greeted this witty sally. The Jews began laboriously to explain that the customs of different peoples varied, and that some things were forbidden to others which were permitted to them. 'Some people, for instance,' remarked one delegate, 'abstain from lamb——' 'Quite right,' interrupted Gaius impatiently, 'it's nasty stuff.' Then more seriously he added: 'I want to know what rights you enjoy in respect of the citizenship.' This was getting down to business, and the Jewish spokesmen began to cite their evidence. Half-way through Gaius became bored and walked away into another hall, where he gave directions that the windows should be filled with thin plates of translucent marble. The Jews again pursued, vainly attempting to continue their argument. 'What are you saying?' said Gaius, turning to them at last, and before they could reply went off to another chamber and gave instructions

for ancient paintings to be put up in it. He then dismissed them. They gained a small crumb of comfort from his parting words: 'They seem to be not so much knaves as unhappy fools in not believing that I am endowed with the nature of a god.'

Agrippa had left Palestine in the spring of 40, before Petronius had revealed the object of his visit to Ptolemais, and he arrived in Rome in ignorance of Gaius' project. The first he heard of it was from Gaius himself. When he came to pay his respects Gaius looked at him sourly. Agrippa wondered what he had done to offend the emperor, but he searched his conscience in vain. Then Gaius broke out: 'You look puzzled, Agrippa. I will put your mind at rest. You have known me long enough to realize that I speak with my eyes as much as with my mouth. Your noble fellow countrymen, who of all the human race refuse to acknowledge me as a god, are now, it appears, signing their own death-sentence by their insolence. When I ordered a statue of Zeus to be dedicated in their temple they marched out in a body from their city—to beg for mercy, so they said, but really to defy my order.' Overwhelmed by the suddenness of this revelation Agrippa collapsed and was carried out fainting by his attendants. They put him to bed and he lay for thirty-six hours in a feverish coma, prostrated by the shock. Then he pulled himself together. He was responsible before God, who had raised him up to power, to use his power to save his people, and he resolved to do his duty, even if he perished in the attempt. Josephus tells a picturesque story of how he fulfilled his purpose. He relates that Agrippa invited Gaius to a most magnificent banquet. No expense was spared and the rarest delicacies were produced. Even Gaius was impressed with the extravagance of his host, and as the evening drew on and he grew mellowed with wine, he resolved to reward his devotion. He made a little speech

extolling Agrippa's services to him and depreciating the trifling rewards he had hitherto given him, and bade him ask whatever boon he would. Agrippa modestly refused. Gaius pressed him again, and Agrippa, taking his courage in both hands, asked that the order for the statue at Jerusalem might be revoked. Gaius, who had been expecting he would be asked for some additional territory, was abashed, but, ashamed to go back on his word, yielded. Unfortunately this dramatic tale is unhistorical. Philo, who was in Rome at the time and knew the facts, tells the more prosaic truth. Agrippa did not dare to face Gaius himself. He wrote him a letter. It was a long and statesmanlike document. He appealed to the emperor as his friend and as the descendant of the ancient royal and high-priestly line. He claimed to represent not merely the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judaea but the Jewish communities scattered throughout the eastern half of the empire and even beyond its frontiers in Babylonia. He reminded the emperor of the consistent policy of toleration which the Roman government had observed throughout their relations with the Jews. He especially stressed the friendly relations of Agrippa, Gaius' maternal grandfather, with his own grandfather Herod, and the respect he had shown to the temple on his visit to Jerusalem. He recalled the severe rebuke which his adoptive grandfather Tiberius had given to Pontius Pilate for introducing the golden shields into Jerusalem. He quoted decrees of Gaius' great-grandfather Augustus, confirming the right of assembly to the Jewish communities in the provinces, and safeguarding their contributions to the temple. As a *proof of Augustus' respect for the Jewish religion* he reminded Gaius that he had provided out of his own revenues for the daily offering of a bull and two lambs on his behalf in the Jewish temple. He recalled the splendid dedication made in the new temple by Livia, his (step-) great-grandmother. He ended up on a note of personal appeal,

begging Gaius not to destroy at one blow all the benefits he had heaped upon him.

Having dispatched this letter, Agrippa waited in fear and trembling. But he had no cause for fear. He had struck the right balance between respect and firmness, and had mingled the right proportion of flattery with his good advice. Gaius was impressed by his earnestness; he began to see that the Jewish aversion for statues must be serious if even a sensible person like Agrippa felt strongly about it, and he began to feel that perhaps he had been foolish to break with a policy which had been for so many generations traditional with the Roman government. He yielded with an ill grace. He wrote to Petronius that if he had already put up the statue it must stand. Otherwise he might abandon the project. But, while no statue was to be put up in Jerusalem itself, he gave free permission to any one to dedicate statues or altars to himself in any part of the surrounding country, and ordered Petronius to punish summarily or send up for judgement to himself any who resisted such dedications. Fortunately during the brief period that this order was in force no one took advantage of it.

This letter crossed Petronius' second letter, in which he urged that Gaius would give up the idea of the statue. Gaius, sore at having to abandon his project, was furious with Petronius for having anticipated his decision and wrote recommending him to commit suicide, to avoid a worse fate. This letter was delayed on the way and it actually arrived twenty-seven days after the dispatch which announced Gaius' death.

Gaius' assassination (January 24, A.D. 41) was the work of a large conspiracy comprising members of the senatorial and equestrian orders and several of the officers of the praetorian guards. The conspirators were republicans, and as soon as Gaius was killed the senate was convoked by the consuls to

consider what was to be done. But while they were debating the praetorians had acted. They had no republican sentiments; they wanted an emperor, and one of the line of Caesar. Some soldiers hunting through the palace came upon Claudius, Gaius' uncle, who had hidden himself in terror in an alcove. Claudius had hitherto, despite his noble birth, been studiously kept in the background. He had an impediment in his speech and was nervous and awkward, and he was generally—though, as the event proved, unjustly—considered to be a fool. But he was a brother of Germanicus and the soldiers decided he would do. They dragged him out of his hiding-place and, proclaiming him emperor, carried him away to the praetorian camp. Agrippa, when he heard the shouting, immediately decided that he would support the newly proclaimed emperor: as a favourite of the murdered tyrant he could expect little sympathy from the senate, should the republic be restored, whereas he had known Claudius from boyhood and thought he could manage him. He rushed from the palace and, catching up the procession which was carrying Claudius to the camp, gave him some much needed words of encouragement—for Claudius, overwhelmed by his sudden elevation, was half-inclined to reject the dangerous honour thrust upon him. Agrippa then hurried home, where he found awaiting him a summons from the senate. He changed and perfumed himself with the scent he always used when he was with his wife, and, having by these precautions given the impression that he had been at home during the past few hours, went to the senate house and innocently inquired what the situation was. He was informed that Claudius had been proclaimed by the praetorians and that two tribunes, sent to the camp to remonstrate with him and urge him to submit to the constitutional authorities, had been courteously but firmly sent about their business. Agrippa expressed surprise and sorrow at the turn events had taken, and affirmed his loyalty to

the republic. At the same time he pointed out that if it came to a fight they were in a very weak position, having only the urban cohorts on their side. The senators boldly replied that they could arm the people and free the slaves, but Agrippa pointed out the unpalatable truth that an undisciplined mob would be no match for the praetorians. Having reduced them to reason he suggested that their best course would be to appeal once again to Claudius' better nature, and he offered, as a personal friend of Claudius, to serve as one of their emissaries; meanwhile he sent a secret message to Claudius to put a bold face on it. Claudius replied to the delegation in an authoritative but kindly tone, promising that his rule would be mild, and assuring the senate that it would have no cause to regret his accession. The praetorians, encouraged by the weakness of the senate, now took the oath of allegiance and Claudius announced a donative of unprecedented size. The senate meanwhile was rapidly melting away, as nervous members shut themselves up in their homes or hastily moved out to their country estates. When the consuls summoned another meeting only about a hundred members attended, and they were hopelessly divided. Some few were earnest republicans, but others were more anxious to gain the empire themselves. The urban cohorts loudly demanded that the senate should choose them an emperor without delay. The senators were by now involved in bitter squabbles, and, despairing of receiving a lead from so divided a body, the urban cohorts marched off to join the praetorians. At last the senate capitulated and voted the imperial power to Claudius.

Claudius was now emperor, and if he did not precisely owe his throne to Agrippa, his accession had, thanks to Agrippa's resource and skill, passed off much more quietly than it would otherwise have done. Agrippa soon received his reward. One of Claudius' first acts was to confirm Gaius' grants to him



and to add to them the province of Judaea (with Samaria) and the tetrarchy of Abilene. Agrippa was at the same time raised to the titular rank of consul, and his brother Herod was, at his request, granted the titular rank of praetor and the tiny principality of Chalcis with the title of king.

It is probable that Claudius was not actuated solely by gratitude in re-creating the Jewish kingdom in Agrippa's favour. Direct administration of the Jews had not proved a great success, and at the moment the temper of the Jewish people was abnormally strained by Gaius' outrageous conduct; any error of judgement by a tactless procurator might be the spark which would set alight a violent conflagration. The Jews would be more likely to be soothed into quiescence by a king of their own religion, and Agrippa was the obvious choice. Among the Jews he was, owing to the courageous stand he made against Gaius' impious project, something of a popular hero. Claudius had known him for years and had full confidence in his loyalty to the Roman government.

In his new-found dignity Agrippa did not forget the many Jews who were not his subjects but lived in scattered communities throughout the empire. The whole question of Jewish rights had been thrown into confusion by Gaius, and relations between Jews and Greeks were more strained than ever. The Greeks, having tasted blood under Gaius, were in a restive mood and not inclined to submit once more to the old order of toleration. The Jews, now that their persecutor was dead, thought that the day of their revenge had come. The situation was particularly serious at Alexandria, where, directly the news of Gaius' death had arrived, the Jews had risen against the Greeks and bloody riots had ensued. Claudius acted promptly. He ordered the prefect to crush the revolt without mercy, but at the same time he issued an edict in which he restored the immemorial privileges of the

Jews, as confirmed by Augustus and consistently upheld by the Roman government till 'the times of Gaius Caesar who in his madness and folly, because the race of the Jews would not transgress their ancestral religion and acknowledge him a god, humiliated them'. There is no express evidence that Agrippa had any part in framing this edict, but in another of general application, issued shortly afterwards, Claudius proclaimed that he acted 'on the petition of my friends the kings Agrippa and Herod'. In this edict he *confirmed* to the Jews throughout the empire their rights, as defined by Augustus, of following their religious practices without hindrance. At the same time he gave them sound advice: 'I here and now recommend them on their part to make use of this my gracious grant in a more reasonable spirit, and not to throw contempt upon the religious beliefs of other nations, but to observe their own laws.' This edict was to be posted by the authorities of every city in Italy and the provinces, and by all kings and dynasts. It was hardly to be expected that in the present state of communal tension it would be universally obeyed, and Agrippa had for some while yet to keep a vigilant eye on the cities of the empire. Josephus records an instance of his watchful care which occurred not long after his return to Palestine. In the little city of Dora, immediately north of Caesarea, some rowdies one night erected a statue of Claudius in the local synagogue. Agrippa promptly reported the case to the legate of Syria, who was still the same Petronius whom Gaius had ordered to erect his statue in the temple, and Petronius immediately wrote a severe letter to the magistrates and council and people of Dora, reminding them of the recent edict and ordering them to surrender the culprits to the centurion who carried the letter, under pain of being deemed accessories after the act.

Having secured the privileges of his fellow countrymen throughout the empire, Agrippa immediately left Rome to

take possession of his kingdom. It was a proud moment in his life. Some fifteen years before he had left Rome a penniless adventurer, up to his eyes in debt and without a hope in the world. Only three years ago he had lain in prison with a death-sentence hanging over his head. Now he departed as 'the Great King Agrippa, the friend of Caesar, the pious, the friend of Rome', for such was the magniloquent title Claudius had granted to him. He ruled a kingdom which was as great as that of his grandfather, though not precisely identical with it. The Greek cities which Augustus had freed were probably not subject to him, nor Salome's portion, which had been absorbed into the imperial patrimony. On the other hand, Agrippa ruled a section of the old Ituraean principality which Herod had never held, the tetrarchy of Abilene. This tetrarchy, often called that of Lysanias after the prince who ruled it under Tiberius and was perhaps Agrippa's immediate predecessor, was of considerable size. Its capital, Abila, lay in a pass of the Anti-Lebanon, west of Damascus, and it extended northwards as far as Maglula and Iabruda, where an inscription of Agrippa's son, who also ruled the tetrarchy, has been discovered. Financially he was even better off than Herod had been, his revenue amounting to 1,200 talents. The increase is probably to be accounted for not by the territorial changes, which were rather to Agrippa's disadvantage, nor by heavier taxation: we hear only of reductions, Vitellius having a few years before Agrippa's accession abolished the tax on the sale of agricultural produce in Jerusalem and Agrippa himself remitting on his return the house-tax in Jerusalem. The increase must be due to the advancing prosperity of the country as Herod's projects matured and as the wild north-eastern districts, weaned to agriculture by Philip, began to bring in a fuller return.

Agrippa's first act when he arrived in Jerusalem was symbolic of the line of policy he was resolved to adopt. He offered

magnificent sacrifices in thanksgiving for his return and dedicated in the temple the golden chain which Gaius had given him on his release from captivity. By this gesture he acknowledged the hand of God in the marvellous reversal of fortune which had in the space of a few years raised him from a prison to the throne. He was henceforth to be—in Judaea at any rate—a pious Jew. He insisted that gentiles who married into his family should accept circumcision. He succeeded in arranging a match on these terms between his youngest daughter Drusilla and Epiphanes, son and heir of King Antiochus of Commagene. For his other daughters he had to be content with Jewish husbands. The eldest, Berenice, he married first to a commoner, Marcus the son of Alexander the alabarch, then on his death to his brother Herod. Mariamme was allotted to a commoner, Julius Archelaus, the son of his commander-in-chief Helcias. As a champion of orthodoxy he took severe measures against the heretical sect which regarded Jesus of Nazareth, whom Pilate had executed, as a son of God. He executed one of their leaders, James the son of Zebedee, and arrested another, Cephas, better known by his Greek nickname, *Peter*: *Peter*, however, escaped from prison in mysterious circumstances. Agrippa took great pains to cultivate the Pharisees, residing constantly at Jerusalem, paying sacrifice regularly at the temple, and meticulously observing every detail of the Law. It is hard to believe that this piety was sincere, but it seems to have been on the whole remarkably successful in achieving its object. He does not, it is true, seem to have reconciled the high-priestly aristocracy to his rule. In his brief reign of four years the high-priesthood changed hands no fewer than three times. Shortly after his accession he deposed Jonathan or Theophilus the son of Ananus and set up Simon Cantheras the son of Boethus. He then deposed Simon and offered the office to Jonathan once more, but he refused it and asked that his brother Matthias

might be appointed. He in turn was deposed in favour of Elionaeus, the son of Simon Cantheras. Neither of the two great high-priestly families seem then to have been loyal to the régime: they doubtless regretted the greater authority which they possessed under direct Roman rule. But the Pharisee party and the people at large were enthusiastically loyal. Josephus, writing from the point of view of the moderate Pharisees, gives a glowing picture of his reign, contrasting it pointedly to that of his grandfather Herod. He records only one dissentient voice among the Pharisees. One Simon, a learned rabbi, while the king was once away at Caesarea, raised an agitation, declaring to the assembled multitude that Agrippa did not observe the law and that he ought to be excluded from the temple as a gentile. The commandant of Jerusalem arrested him and sent him down to Caesarea, and he was produced before Agrippa as he was sitting in the theatre. Agrippa requested him to sit down beside him, and after an interval asked him mildly what there was contrary to the law in the performance. Simon was put to confusion and Agrippa dismissed him, not only without punishment, but with a small token of esteem. It is evident that Simon had not much popular support in the attitude he adopted. An interesting story in the Talmud shows that the people regarded Agrippa as a true Jew. It is recorded that at the feast of Tabernacles, as Agrippa was reading the book of Deuteronomy before the people, when he came to the verse (xvii. 15) 'Thou mayest not put a foreigner over thee which is not thy brother' he burst into tears. But the people answered him: 'Be not sorrowful, Agrippa, thou art our brother, thou art our brother.' In point of fact, it may be observed, Agrippa was through his paternal grandmother, Mariamme, one-quarter a pure Jew, and, what was more, a Hasmonaean. This connexion with the old royal house no doubt contributed to his popularity, and Agrippa, though not parading it, did not

emphasize his Herodian descent; unlike his two uncles, he did not adopt the name of Herod on his accession.<sup>1</sup>

Agrippa's popularity with the Jews is all the more remarkable because in some ways he was less scrupulous to respect their susceptibilities than his predecessors had been. His coinage was, for instance, far more pagan than Herod's. He issued one aniconic type, which was presumably meant for circulation in Jewish territory. But he issued another which bore the emperor's head on the obverse, and on the reverse a representation of himself and the emperor joining hands before a temple. He was also the first member of the Herodian family to place his own head on his coins: these coins were, it is true, issued at Caesarea, but even so the boldness of the innovation is startling. In other ways Agrippa was at any rate as lax as Herod. He allowed statues of himself and his family to be dedicated in the pagan parts of his dominions, and he attended the festivities of his pagan cities. Nor did he refrain from giving pagans positions of authority in his kingdom. He had not forgotten his promise to Thaumastus, the slave who had given him a drink of water when he was arrested by Tiberius. He had secured his freedom from Gaius and he now made him steward of his household, a post which he continued to hold under Agrippa's son until his own death. He was also, taking into account the shortness of his reign, as liberal as his grandfather had been in his gifts to pagan cities. He particularly favoured the Roman colony of Berytus, for which he built colonnades and baths and a theatre and an amphitheatre, all on a most magnificent scale. Yet Josephus, in the very same chapter in which he records these benefactions to Berytus, pointedly contrasts Agrippa's policy with that of Herod, who 'adorned foreign

<sup>1</sup> The author of Acts is inaccurate in calling him 'Herod the king' (xii. 1), though he no doubt reflects popular usage, in which Herod had become a dynastic name.

cities with gifts of money and the erection of baths and theatres, and built temples in some and colonnades in others'. And Agrippa celebrated the dedication of these buildings with magnificent musical games and with a grand gladiatorial show, in which seven hundred pairs of condemned criminals fought to the death, 'in order', to quote Josephus once more, 'that they might be punished and that the labour of war might become a pleasure of peace'. This sentiment is a strange contrast to Josephus' judgement on Herod's *gladiatorial shows*, that it seemed to the Jews of that time 'barefaced impiety to throw men to wild beasts for the pleasure of the spectators'. That Agrippa could do with approbation what for Herod was wicked impiety was no doubt partly due to the contrast between their characters. Herod lacked the tact which Agrippa so abundantly possessed to reconcile these concessions to pagan taste with Jewish piety. But it would seem also that public sentiment, or at least the sentiment of the educated classes, had become more liberal among the Jews. They were now prepared to allow that a man might be a good Jew and yet conform, at any rate outside Judaea, with the ways of the world. By contrast with the growing liberalism of the educated Jews, the temper of the Greeks seems to have become more violently anti-Semitic. Agrippa would seem to have treated his Greek cities with as much favour as Herod had done; we know that he celebrated the games in honour of Augustus at Caesarea with unusual magnificence. Yet his death was greeted with indecent jubilation by the inhabitants of Caesarea and Sebaste, who had been so loyal to Herod. They feasted in the public squares, crowning themselves with garlands and pouring libations of thanksgiving to Charon, the ferryman of Hades, and they tore down the statues of his daughters and, carrying them to the brothels, set them on the roofs and subjected them to indignities which Josephus forbears to relate.

From the point of view of the Roman government Agrippa proved an unsatisfactory ruler. His government was extravagant. Despite his large revenues he died heavily in debt, and there was very little to show for the money he had spent. He displayed, moreover, a dangerous tendency towards independence. He began to fortify the New City, the quarter to the north of the temple, in a manner which would have made Jerusalem impregnable. It is hard to believe that Agrippa was mad enough to be planning a revolt, and it may be that these fortifications were for show only, and were designed principally to give employment. But, taken with his nationalist policy in religion, these military works roused the suspicions of Petronius' successor as legate of Syria, Vibius Marsus, who reported them to Claudius. Claudius was obliged to send Agrippa a reprimand, ordering him to cease building. Agrippa's policy towards his neighbours also was aggressive. He quarrelled with the two great city republics of Tyre and Sidon, and, instead of submitting his cause to the judgement of the Roman government as he should have done, he threatened them with an economic blockade, which soon brought them to heel: for they depended for the feeding of their great industrial populations on the corn-lands of the interior which Agrippa ruled. Another diplomatic move aroused even graver suspicions. Agrippa held at Tiberias, without informing the Roman government, a conference of the more important client kings of the East. It was attended by four kings besides himself and his brother: Sampsigeramus of Emesa, Antiochus of Commagene, Polemo of Pontus, and Cotys of Lesser Armenia. Vibius Marsus, hearing of the meeting by accident, was naturally affronted by the lack of respect shown to himself in not inviting or even notifying him, and was filled with misgivings as to what this secret conference between a number of kings, who, incidentally, controlled a great part of the eastern frontier of the empire, might



portend. He went to Tiberias and summarily ordered the kings back to their kingdoms. Here again it is difficult to see what Agrippa's object was. It is hardly credible that Marsus' suspicions were correct, that he had treasonable designs based on the hope of Parthian support; Agrippa would have been more secretive in his methods if his objects had been so dangerous. More probably the motive of the meeting was ostentation only; Agrippa wished to set himself up as the doyen of the client kings. But whatever the motive, the action was highly improper for a friend and ally of the Roman people, who was expected to have no foreign policy save that of his suzerain.

Agrippa's death was as dramatic as his rise to power. He had gone down to Caesarea to attend the quadrennial games in honour of Augustus. They were celebrated with more than usual magnificence and great crowds had assembled, including notables from throughout the province of Syria. On the morning of the second day of the games Agrippa took his seat in the theatre arrayed in robes of silver, and the sun shining upon it produced a dazzling reflection. The spectators, seeing in his brilliant appearance an opportunity for flattery, cried out that he was a god and not a man. The king was gratified by this applause and did not rebuke them for what, to a Jew, was blasphemy. Then, it is recorded, he looked up and saw, perched on a rope of the awning, an owl, and he remembered the prophecy which the old German had made to him eight years ago in prison. Sudden pains seized upon him and he realized that God's vengeance had come for his presumptuous pride in suffering himself to be called a god. He was carried away to the palace and five days later he died of the same complaint which had stricken down his grandfather (A.D. 44).

Agrippa was a more amiable character than Herod. He inherited to the full the relentless ambition of his grand-

father, but he gained his end not by brute force but by the exercise of a charm which Herod had utterly lacked. With amazing versatility he was able to adapt himself to the most diverse company. He could be with equal ease one of the young bloods at Rome and a pious pupil of the Pharisee doctors. He was one of the very few who could manage the erratic moods of Gaius and retain his volatile favour. Yet he was at the same time able to retain the respect of the senatorial aristocracy, and to maintain his friendship with the serious and pedantic Claudius. With such gifts he had little cause to exercise severity, and in consequence he enjoyed a reputation for clemency and kind-heartedness. But despite appearances he was at heart ruthless and even vindictive. He sacrificed his sister Herodias and his uncle Antipas without scruple to his own advancement. They had not perhaps treated him with generosity, but they had saved him at a critical moment in his career. He rewarded them by trumping up against them a false charge of treason which might have cost them their lives and did cost them their fortunes. In this case Agrippa was no doubt principally actuated by ambition, though a meaner motive, dislike of those to whom one owes an obligation, is discernible. This second motive is more apparent in another and more discreditable incident. One of his most faithful followers, who had stood loyally by him in all his troubles and had been constant in his attentions to him when he lay in prison awaiting sentence of death, was a certain Silas. When Agrippa came into his kingdom Silas was suitably rewarded by the post of commander-in-chief. Unhappily Silas had not the qualities of a courtier, and he maintained toward his royal master the same familiarity which he had shown when he was a penniless adventurer. Worse, he harped continually on the old days, recalling the hard times they had been through together and the many services he had performed for his patron in this or that embarrassment.

Agrippa not unnaturally disliked to be reminded of his *impecunious and not very reputable* youth, but he might have borne with his faithful servant's tactless garrulity. Instead, he not only deposed him from his office but put him in prison. He later repented and on the occasion of his birthday graciously ordered him to be released and invited to the festivities. But Silas was too proud to accept such a favour and told the king's messengers that he preferred to remain in prison. He remained a prisoner until Agrippa's death, when his successor as commander-in-chief, Helcias, and Herod, the deceased king's brother, who were his bitter enemies, had him secretly executed. The fate of the faithful Silas was in marked contrast with the extravagant reward given to Thaumastus for his trifling service. Agrippa loved theatrical displays of gratitude which cost him nothing, but he was not the man to suffer his benefactors to inconvenience him.

As a ruler Agrippa lacked the sterling qualities of his grandfather. It is perhaps difficult to judge him on so short a reign; he hardly had time to mature any constructive schemes. But it argues culpable negligence and gross extravagance that after the brief period of three years he should have left the finances of his kingdom in a seriously embarrassed condition. In his policy towards the suzerain power it is unlikely that he was so foolish as to harbour the treasonable designs of which Marsus suspected him, but his conduct was irresponsible and hardly calculated to promote that confidence which was essential if he was to maintain his position. But whatever his failings it is to be remembered to his credit that he was consistently loyal to his people, though he can have had little sympathy with their feelings, and that at a critical moment he was courageous enough to risk all his ambitions and his life in order to save the temple from desecration and the Jewish nation from the horrors of a desperate revolt.

## VII

### AGRIPPA II AND THE GREAT REBELLION

CLAUDIUS may, in view of Vibius Marsus' reports, have already begun to doubt the wisdom of his experiment in restoring the kingdom of Judaea. The news of Agrippa's sudden death resolved the question. It was obviously impossible to entrust the kingdom to Agrippa's only surviving son, also called Agrippa, who was a young man of seventeen, at that time completing his education at the imperial court. The kingdom was once more annexed and put in charge of a procurator, Cuspius Fadus. At the same time Vibius Marsus, whose anti-Semitic bias seemed to be rather pronounced, was recalled, and a new legate, Cassius Longinus, appointed to supervise the annexation, and, if necessary, to lend Fadus armed support. None was in fact needed. The change was quietly carried through and only one dispute arose. Fadus demanded that the robes of the high priest should, according to earlier practice, be deposited in the Antonia under the keeping of the Roman commandant. The Sanhedrin petitioned that the matter might be referred to the emperor and that in the meanwhile things might stay as they were. Their petition was granted, after hostages had been surrendered as a guarantee of good behaviour. The Jewish delegation on its arrival in Rome was warmly supported by the young Agrippa and by Herod of Chalcis, and Claudius gave a favourable reply. Herod now petitioned Claudius for the right to nominate the high priests and to supervise the temple and the sacred funds. This petition was also granted; it was obviously a wise concession, which relieved the Roman procurator of an embarrassing responsibility and placated Jewish religious sentiment, and yet kept the control of the temple in loyal hands.

Herod made two appointments, deposing Elionaeus the son of Cantheras in favour of Joseph the son of Cami, and a few years later replacing him by Ananias the son of Nebedaeus. In A.D. 48 he died, and his kingdom was temporarily annexed. Two years later Claudius, passing over his sons, appointed Agrippa as king of Chalcis and controller of the temple. Three years later he raised Agrippa to a more extensive kingdom. He took Chalcis from him and in exchange granted him Philip's tetrarchy, Paneas, Ulatha, Gaulanitis, Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, the tetrarchy of Abilene, and also the tetrarchy of Noarus, a district in the northern Lebanon with its capital at Arca; its inhabitants were Ituraeans, but it had never been a part of the main Ituraean principality, having been ruled by a separate dynasty since the days of Caesar at least. Agrippa thus became the king of a very considerable, though scattered, area. It is noticeable that his kingdom was almost entirely pagan: apart from the Babylonian settlers in Batanaea and the Jewish colony in Caesarea Paneas, it was only in Gaulanitis that there was a considerable Jewish population. Claudius seems to have come to the conclusion that the Jews were better under direct Roman rule. But at the same time he acknowledged the hereditary capacity of the Herodian house by giving Agrippa a group of intractable districts to govern. When Claudius died shortly afterwards (A.D. 54), Nero partly relaxed his predecessor's rule, granting two Jewish districts to Agrippa. They were the toparchies of Tiberias and Taricheae in Galilee, which adjoined his dominions in Gaulanitis and gave him all the coast-line of the Sea of Galilee save a small stretch in the south-east owned by the cities of Gadara and Hippos; and the two southernmost toparchies of the Peraea, Julias (or Betharamphtha) and Abila. Why this detached area should have been granted to Agrippa is obscure. He now ruled, besides the main block of Philip's tetrarchy with the added toparchies of Galilee,

three detached districts: Abilene, Arca, and the southern Peraea.

Of Agrippa's rule at home we know little. Despite his diminished dominions he maintained the same grandiloquent style as his father, 'the Great King, the friend of Caesar, the pious, the friend of Rome'. It is remarkable that he, first of the Herodian family, made official use of his full Roman name. All the members of the family, since Antipater received the citizenship from Caesar, had been entitled to style themselves Julius, but none of them had done so till Agrippa II, who appears on his coins and inscriptions as Marcus Julius Agrippa. The change of style perhaps implies a corresponding change in sentiment: Agrippa II may have preferred to regard himself as a member of the Roman aristocracy rather than as a native king. His only recorded enterprise is the rebuilding on a grander scale of his capital Caesarea Paneas, which he renamed after his suzerain Neronias: the name, it need hardly be said, did not survive Nero's death. His coins, issued at Neronias and in the name of the city, are of pagan type.

In the domestic sphere he maintained the rule that those who married into his family must accept the Jewish faith. The match with Epiphanes the son of Antiochus of Commagene, which his father had arranged for Drusilla, was broken off when Epiphanes refused to be circumcised, and she was married to Azizus, the king of Emesa, who became a Jew. This marriage did not endure long. Felix, the procurator of Judaea, met her and fell in love with her, and with the aid of a magician, a Cypriot Jew named Simon, induced her to desert her husband and marry him, gentile though he was, and a freedman; they had a son, Antonius Agrippa, who perished in the great eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. Mariamne's betrothal to Archelaus the son of Helcias was duly followed by a marriage, but she soon divorced him and married a wealthy Alexandrian Jew named Demetrius.

Berenice, after the death of her second husband, her uncle Herod of Chalcis, returned to her brother's home. Scandalous tongues alleged that she lived in incest with her brother, and, to put an end to such rumours, she induced Polemo, formerly king of Pontus but now reduced to a small Cilician principality, to seek her hand. Polemo, attracted, it is said, by her large dowry, actually went so far as to accept circumcision, but the marriage did not prosper and Berenice soon returned to her brother.

Outside his own kingdom Agrippa made benefactions to various cities. Like his father he particularly favoured the people of Berytus. He built for them a theatre and made provision for annual dramatic shows to be performed in it. He also distributed free corn and oil to them and endowed their city with many statues, some new, others ancient works of art; in so doing he ransacked his own kingdom of its treasures, and made himself highly unpopular. It would seem that he also, like all the Herodian kings, interested himself in the cause of the Jews of the Dispersion. It is known at any rate that he maintained the privileges of the Alexandrian Jews, and that as a result the city of Alexandria had a feud with him and even went so far as to accuse him of some unknown charge before the emperor Claudius. The little we know of this incident is derived from one of a curious series of papyri which have been dubbed 'the Acts of the Pagan Martyrs'. They are propagandist literature, circulated among the Greeks of Alexandria, and their object is to glorify the heroes who had been unjustly done to death championing the liberties of the city against the Jews and the emperors who were the creatures of the Jews. They take the form of trial-scenes in which the champions of Alexandrian liberty, after boldly proclaiming their cause before the emperor, are led out to execution. The dramatic detail is, of course, largely imaginative, but the trials themselves are in all probability

historical incidents. In this particular case the scene is set in one of the imperial gardens in Rome. The emperor is the judge, and with him sit twenty senators, including sixteen consulars, as assessors; the ladies of the imperial court are also present. The protagonists on the Alexandrian side are Isidore the gymnasiarch and Lampon; both had been prominent figures in the great pogrom of Gaius' reign. Isidore begs for a hearing for the city's cause. Claudius allots to him the whole day; the senators, who are represented to be strongly sympathetic with Isidore, concur. Claudius opens the proceedings with a warning: 'Say nothing extravagant against my friend: for you have already done to death two of my friends, Theon the exegete and Naevius the prefect of Egypt and formerly praetorian prefect [the person alluded to is apparently Naevius Macro, praetorian prefect in the latter years of Tiberius, driven to suicide by Gaius], and now you are attacking the defendant.' Isidore's reply is insolent: 'Sire, what concern have you with a twopenny-halfpenny Jew like Agrippa?' Claudius protests at this unparliamentary language and at this stage the papyrus breaks off. Another fragment gives a later stage in the proceedings. Isidore is speaking. 'Sire, Balbillus is quite right about your interests. But as for you, Agrippa, I will controvert what you say about the Jews. I accuse them of trying to throw the whole world into confusion. Passing over points of detail, one must consider them as a whole. They are not of the same temperament as the Alexandrians; they are like the Egyptians in character. Are they not like those who pay poll-tax?' Agrippa replies to this vague assertion with a statement of historical fact: 'The governors imposed the poll-tax on the Egyptians, but no one has imposed it on the Jews.' Here Balbillus intervenes with an indignant interjection: 'See to what audacity either his god . . . .' The papyrus again breaks off. It resumes towards the end of the proceedings. Lampon is apparently



by now under sentence of death and Isidore is on the defensive. Claudius reiterates his former charge: 'You have done many of my friends to death, Isidore.' Isidore replies: 'I obeyed the commands of the emperor of the day [the allusion is to Gaius]. Tell me whom *you* wish me to accuse and I will accuse him.' Claudius, enraged by this aspersion on his impartiality, replies: 'You are certainly the son of a chorus-girl, Isidore.' Isidore replies with dignity: 'I am not a slave, nor the son of a chorus-girl, but gymnasiarch of the glorious city of Alexandria. But you are a changeling, the son of Salome the Jewess.' After this extraordinary outburst it is not surprising that Isidore is led off to execution. The charge is incidentally not only absurd but chronologically scarcely possible; Salome, the sister of Herod, who is presumably the Salome meant, must have been about sixty when Claudius was born; perhaps Isidore confused her with her daughter Berenice, who was equally intimate with the imperial family and particularly with Antonia, Claudius' mother.

In Judaea itself Agrippa was compelled to be a passive spectator of events. Under the procurators conditions rapidly went from bad to worse. The premature death of their beloved and pious king Agrippa I was a bitter disappointment to the Jews, and Claudius' decision to revert to direct administration, though it seemed to be the prudent course, was, in the present temper of the people, disastrous. The rule of alien governors was doubly hateful to the Jews, when they had recently experienced and had hoped long to enjoy the reign of a native king. Nor was the choice of procurators wise. It was difficult enough for the wisest of governors to hold the Jewish people in rein, but the men sent out seem for the most part to have been unsympathetic and harsh. Another seemingly minor error added greatly to the troubles of the country. Claudius had originally, in view of the scandalous behaviour of the Sebastenes and Caesareans, intended to

transfer the garrison of Judaea, which was recruited from these cities, to Pontus, and draft in fresh troops, not infected with the violent anti-Semitic bias of the local Greek population. Unfortunately, he allowed himself to be deflected from his purpose by the entreaties of the two cities, and the animosity of the local troops against the Jews contributed greatly to the ultimate conflagration.

The causes of the unrest were complex. The main factor was undoubtedly religious nationalism; the Romans were hated simply as gentiles whose rule over the people of God was a sacrilege. The mass of the people was becoming impatient for the long-postponed coming of the Messiah who should establish the rule of righteousness and smite the enemies of the Lord, and they were prepared to follow any prophet who proclaimed the Kingdom of God. But economic causes also played their part in the movement. After Agrippa's reign, and partly perhaps as a result of his extravagant and incompetent rule, there seems to have been a decline in prosperity. Times were bad, as the enormous increase in brigandage, always a sure index of the welfare of Palestine, clearly shows, and there were several severe famines. Taxation bore heavily on the poorer classes, and the peasants were falling into the hands of money-lenders and being squeezed out of their holdings; it is significant that one of the first actions of the revolutionaries in the final revolt was to burn down the record office, where the mortgage-deeds were filed.

To a large extent the political parties followed the lines of social cleavage. The wealthy classes, including the priestly aristocracy, were predominantly pro-Roman. They were sufficiently well informed to know the hopelessness of revolt and were sceptical of divine aid. Moreover, they were comparatively well off under Roman rule, enjoying a large measure of delegated authority, and, as the anti-Roman movement assumed more and more the aspect of a social revolution, they

rallied more strongly to the Roman government, which guaranteed their position and property. But they were riven by violent personal and family feuds, centring in the tenure of the high offices of church and state, and above all the high-priesthood, and the lawless spirit in which they prosecuted their quarrels did much to weaken their authority. The anti-Roman party was drawn principally from the peasants, including the humbler priests, who were socially and economically on a level with the peasantry. Its leaders were for the most part brigands, broken men who had nothing to lose and everything to hope for from an upheaval; but disappointed ambition drove a few aristocrats into an unnatural alliance with the enemies of Rome. It was a dangerous game to play, for the anti-Roman movement had strong revolutionary tendencies. It aimed not only at political independence but at a reign of righteousness wherein every man should sit under his own vine and fig-tree, and it pursued the aristocrats with relentless animosity, not only as traitors to the national cause but as oppressors of the poor who added field to field.

The first procurator, Cuspius Fadus (A.D. 44-67), took up a strong line. He carried out a vigorous campaign against brigandage, and succeeded in rounding up a notorious band led by one Ptolemy, which had caused havoc in Idumaea. He also suppressed with severity an uprising in the Peraea. In a frontier dispute with the Philadelphenes over the boundaries of a village called Zia, the Peraeans had preferred to take up arms rather than await the judgement of the procurator. Fadus arrested the ringleaders, and executed one, Hannibal, and banished two others, Eleazar and Amram. Later he was faced with a more serious disorder. A prophet named Theudas arose and persuaded large numbers to follow him to the Jordan, which he declared he would cause to divide before them. Fadus sent a force of cavalry against

them, and killed and captured many of them. Theudas himself was taken prisoner and executed, and his head exposed in Jerusalem as a warning to future prophets.

Fadus was succeeded by Tiberius Julius Alexander (A.D. 46?-48), son of that Alexander the alabarch from whom Agrippa I had raised a loan in Alexandria at a critical moment in his life. He was an able man, as his subsequent career showed, but he was scarcely a wise choice, for to ease his official advancement he had apostatized from the faith of his fathers; Jewish sentiment was not likely to look kindly on a renegade Jew. He caught and crucified two notable brigands, James and Simon, sons of that Judas of Galilee who had raised a revolt in the troubles which followed the death of Herod, and grandsons of the Hezekiah whom Herod had executed in his youth. Under Alexander the economic distress of Judaea was aggravated by a severe famine, which had been foretold some years before by Christian prophets at Antioch.

The next procurator was Ventidius Cumanus. His four years' rule (A.D. 48-52) was troubled. The first incident was due to the outrageous conduct of a soldier during the celebration of the Passover. According to normal practice Cumanus had detailed one cohort to man the colonnades of the outer court of the temple in order to check any disorders among the crowd. One of the soldiers pulled up his kilt and indecently exposed himself to the crowd. There was furious indignation among the assembled Jews, who cried that it was sacrilege, and further alleged that Cumanus had suborned the man to insult them. Cumanus, though indignant at the imputations made against him, endeavoured to quiet the crowd, but being greeted with further insults, called up the rest of his men to the Antonia. The crowd was seized with panic, and, in the rush for the exits, thousands were crushed and trampled to death. The responsibility for the second

incident rested with the Jews. A band of ruffians, returning from the feast, robbed and murdered an imperial slave named Stephanus on the Bethoron road, the high road to Joppa, about ten miles from Jerusalem. Cumanus sent a punitive expedition against the neighbouring villages with orders to arrest the principal residents. One of the soldiers in the party, searching a house, came across a book of the Law. He tore it up and threw it on the fire. The incident caused widespread indignation and Cumanus, fearing a general rising, had the guilty soldier executed.

A third and yet more serious incident arose out of the feud between the Jews and the Samaritans. The Galilaeans, on their journeys to and from the feasts at Jerusalem, normally passed through Samareitis. Disturbances often occurred, and on this occasion there was a pitched battle at the village of Ginaea, at the point where the road mounts from the plain of Esdraelon into the hill country of Samaria, and one Galilaean was killed. A number of leading Galilaeans begged Cumanus to take action before reprisals began, but Cumanus failed to act; whether, as Josephus alleges in one account, he was bribed by the Samaritans, or, as he more charitably states in the other, he was merely negligent, is doubtful. The Galilaeans, despite the warnings of their leaders, determined to take the matter into their own hands, and, enlisting the aid of a notorious brigand, Eleazar son of Dinaeus, plundered the Samaritan villages. Cumanus now acted with vigour. He took out four cohorts of infantry and one squadron of cavalry and also armed the Samaritans, and made a successful attack on the Jews, taking many prisoners. The rest then dispersed. But the Samaritans were not satisfied. Their leaders went to Ummidius Quadratus, the legate of Syria, who was then at Tyre, and complained of the depredations of the Jews. The Jews countered their complaints by declaring that the Samaritans had started the trouble, and accused Cumanus

of corrupt connivance at the Samaritan outrage. Quadratus felt that the matter required investigation, and shortly came down in person to Judaea. He came to the conclusion that, in the particular case at issue, the Samaritans were guilty, but he seems to have been more alarmed at the aggressive temper of the Jews. Acting on information received, partly from Samaritan sources, that a general revolt was planned, he ordered all Cumanus' prisoners to be crucified, and also arrested and executed five of the alleged ringleaders of the envisaged revolt. In view of the seriousness of the trouble he decided to refer the whole quarrel and the conduct of Cumanus to the emperor, and having arrested the high priest Ananias, and his son Ananus, the commander of the temple, he sent them up with Cumanus, a tribune named Celer, and a number of leading Jews and Samaritans to Rome for trial. He then, having gone up to Jerusalem and satisfied himself that the temper of the people, who were celebrating the Passover, was quiet, returned to Antioch. At the trial at Rome the Jews, largely owing to the influence of Agrippa, who happened to be on the spot and interested the empress Agrippina in their cause, came off victors. Three of the Samaritan leaders were executed; Cumanus was banished; and Celer, whose part in the drama is unknown, was sent back to Jerusalem to be carried through the streets of the city and then executed.

Cumanus' successor was Marcus Antonius Felix (A.D. 52-60). The appointment was highly irregular, for Felix was a freedman. It is doubtful, however, if the low social status of their governor caused offence to the Jews, for Felix's promotion is said to have been due in part to the intrigues of one of the leaders of the Jewish aristocracy, the ex-high priest Jonathan, son of Ananus, and he was, despite his servile birth, a highly influential person, being the brother of Pallas, the all-powerful financial secretary of Claudius: both were

freedmen of Claudius' mother Antonia, from whom they derived their gentile names. *Felix is given an extremely bad character by Tacitus, who says of him in a famous sentence that 'in every kind of brutality and profligacy he exercised the power of a king with the temper of a slave'. But this verdict is probably to be accounted for by the violent prejudice of the Roman aristocracy against successful freedmen. It is not borne out by the facts recorded by Josephus. His abduction of Drusilla shocked the religious feelings of the Jews, but otherwise he seems to have been no worse, if no better, than his predecessors; the author of the Acts, it is true, alleges that he was corrupt, but he does not seem to regard this degree of corruption as anything exceptional in a Roman governor, nor indeed was it. Felix acted with great energy against the brigands. He treacherously seized Eleazar, the son of Dinaeus, who had been prominent in the Samaritan trouble, on a promise of safe conduct, and sent him up to Rome for trial; the number of robbers whom he caught and crucified was, according to Josephus, beyond counting. Felix was also troubled by a large number of prophets. One of the most notable of these was an Egyptian Jew, who led a huge concourse to the Mount of Olives, promising that the walls of Jerusalem would fall down before them; Josephus estimates the number of his followers at 30,000. Felix set his troops on to the crowd, and killed 400 and captured 200; the Egyptian himself escaped. An even more serious development under Felix's rule was the growth of an extremist wing of the Zealots who pursued the kingdom of God by assassination, and were called, from the curved knife which was their favourite weapon, the Sicarii. One of their first victims was the ex-high priest Jonathan, whom they killed in the temple itself. According to one of Josephus' accounts this murder was suborned by Felix himself, who found his benefactor's patronizing advice irksome. In his other account Josephus makes*

no such suggestion, and it seems far more probable that Jonathan was murdered as a well-known pro-Roman and a friend of the procurator. As it was impossible to obtain evidence against the murderers, the mass of the people sympathizing with them and the others being afraid for their own lives, this form of terrorism flourished unchecked, and the assassination of prominent pro-Roman Jews became a regular feature of the great festivals. The brigands co-operated in the campaign by plundering the estates of the aristocrats, and they, despairing of protection from the Roman government, in their turn took the law into their own hands. With hired bodyguards of ruffians they occupied the threshing-floors and forcibly appropriated the tithe, ignoring the rights of the humble priests, many of whom were reduced to the utmost destitution by the loss of their only means of support.

Another dispute which was to have serious consequences arose under Felix. The Jews of Caesarea claimed equal rights of citizenship with the Greeks, on the ground that the founder of the city, Herod, was a Jew. The Greeks claimed that Caesarea was merely a refoundation of Strato's Tower, which had been a purely Greek city, and that Herod had clearly not meant to change its character since he built pagan temples in it. Rioting broke out, in which the two sides were fairly evenly matched. The Jews were numerous and formed the wealthiest part of the population. The Greeks were emboldened by the fact that many of the Roman garrison were Caesareans. The local authorities strove in vain to keep the peace and eventually Felix turned his troops against the Jews, who were for the moment victorious. After this, order was restored and Felix sent up delegations from both parties to Nero to argue the case of the citizenship.

On his retirement Felix was accused by the Caesarean Jews, but acquitted, through the influence of his brother Pallas, it was said. He was succeeded by Porcius Festus



(A.D. 60-2), who found the country in an anarchic condition. The Sicarii and the brigands exercised a reign of terror, assassinating their wealthy enemies without check, and plundering and burning their lands and villages. Another prophet also arose who gathered a formidable following and had to be suppressed by armed force. Festus died during the third year of his office, and there was some delay before his successor Albinus could arrive, during which disorders broke out with renewed violence. On his arrival Albinus at first acted with vigour, arresting a large number of Sicarii. This show of energy was countered by a change of tactics. Some Sicarii kidnapped the secretary of Eleazar, the commander of the temple, and threatened to kill him unless ten of their number were released. In view of Eleazar's subsequent career the incident is highly suspicious; it seems very probable that there was collusion between the young aristocrat who was to lead the revolt and the terrorist leaders. But Eleazar was the son of the wealthy and influential ex-high priest Ananias, who had taken great pains to cultivate Albinus, and Ananias used all his authority and riches to save his son's servant. Albinus eventually yielded to the combination of bribery and moral pressure. His submission to this form of blackmail was fatal. Henceforth, by kidnapping one after another of Ananias' dependants, the Sicarii regularly ransomed such of their leaders as Albinus arrested. Albinus now tried a change of tactics, and, making a virtue of necessity, granted an amnesty for all minor offences—prisoners charged with capital crimes were not included—to all prisoners, or at any rate all who could afford to pay for their release. At this stage such a conciliatory policy was too obviously a confession of weakness, and it earned no gratitude, but merely encouraged the opponents of Roman rule to hope that they would gain their ends by violence. The situation was very threatening when Albinus was succeeded by Gessius Florus (A.D. 64).

During all this period Agrippa took little part in the politics of Judaea. His feelings were mixed. On the one hand he had a certain sympathy with the grievances of the Jews against their governors, who were too often venal and high-handed, and he felt it his duty to champion their reasonable complaints. On the other hand he viewed with increasing alarm the growth of revolutionary sentiment. His first intervention in the affairs of the province, the unofficial aid he lent to the accusers of Cumanus, was dictated by the former feeling. He came to repent of his action: for, whether Cumanus was guilty or no, his disgrace and the ignominious punishment of the tribune Celer had a most damaging effect on Roman prestige. Henceforth Agrippa took the line that, whatever their faults, the procurators must be supported through thick and thin; at all costs the authority of Rome must be maintained. With Cumanus' successor Felix, Agrippa's relations were for personal reasons strained—he could hardly be very cordial to the man who had abducted his sister—but he does not seem to have assisted in his prosecution. His successor he took some pains to cultivate. So soon as Festus arrived, he and his sister came in state to Caesarea to pay their respects to him, and Festus responded by inviting him to act as his assessor in a troublesome case he had inherited from his predecessor. The accused was a Jew of Tarsus, who was a Roman citizen; his cognomen was Paulus—it is curious that, much as we are told of this man, and proud though he was of his Roman citizenship, we are left in ignorance of his full Roman name. According to the official report sent in by Claudius Lysias, the prefect of the cohort stationed in the Antonia, this officer had observed Paulus being attacked by an angry crowd in the temple court, and, learning that he was a Roman citizen, had taken him into protective custody. In point of fact, Lysias had arrested him under the impression that he was leading the riot and was indeed the Egyptian who

had a few years before raised an insurrection and never been captured. However, once Paulus was under arrest, a charge had been brought against him by the Jewish authorities. Lysias had sent him for trial before the Sanhedrin, but, learning that there was a plot to lynch him, had suspended proceedings and sent him under a strong escort to Caesarea to be tried by Felix. Ananias the high priest and others had accused him before Felix of being a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes and a disturber of the peace, and in particular of having violated the temple by introducing a gentile into it. Felix, after a preliminary hearing, adjourned the case and it remained adjourned for two years—Felix, it was suspected, was only waiting for a bribe to release Paulus. On Festus' arrival the Jewish authorities renewed their charge. Festus re-heard the case, and, being unable to make anything of it, suggested that Paulus should stand his trial before the Sanhedrin. Paulus refused, and exercised his right as a Roman citizen to appeal to Caesar. Festus admitted the appeal but he was still worried by the case: he had to send some statement of the issue to Rome and he could not make head or tail of it—the dispute appeared to be about a certain Jesus of Nazareth, whom the Jews asserted to be dead but Paulus insisted was alive. In these circumstances he was glad to get the assistance of an impartial person learned in Jewish law, and he appealed to Agrippa to help him. Paulus was produced before an assembly comprising Festus himself, Agrippa and Berenice, the prefects of the Roman troops, and the principal men of Caesarea. Paulus' speech was not very helpful for Festus' purposes: it consisted of an account of his conversion to the belief that Jesus had risen from the dead, and an appeal to Agrippa to accept the story on the basis of scriptural prophecies. Festus thought the man a harmless crank: 'Too much study has addled your brain, Paulus,' he remarked genially on the conclusion of the speech. Agrippa was some-

what amused at Paulus' attempt to convert him to his fantastic and vulgar sect: 'You almost persuade me to become a Christian,' he answered sarcastically. He felt no ill will to Paulus, however, and remarked to Festus that if he had not appealed to Caesar he might have been released out of hand.

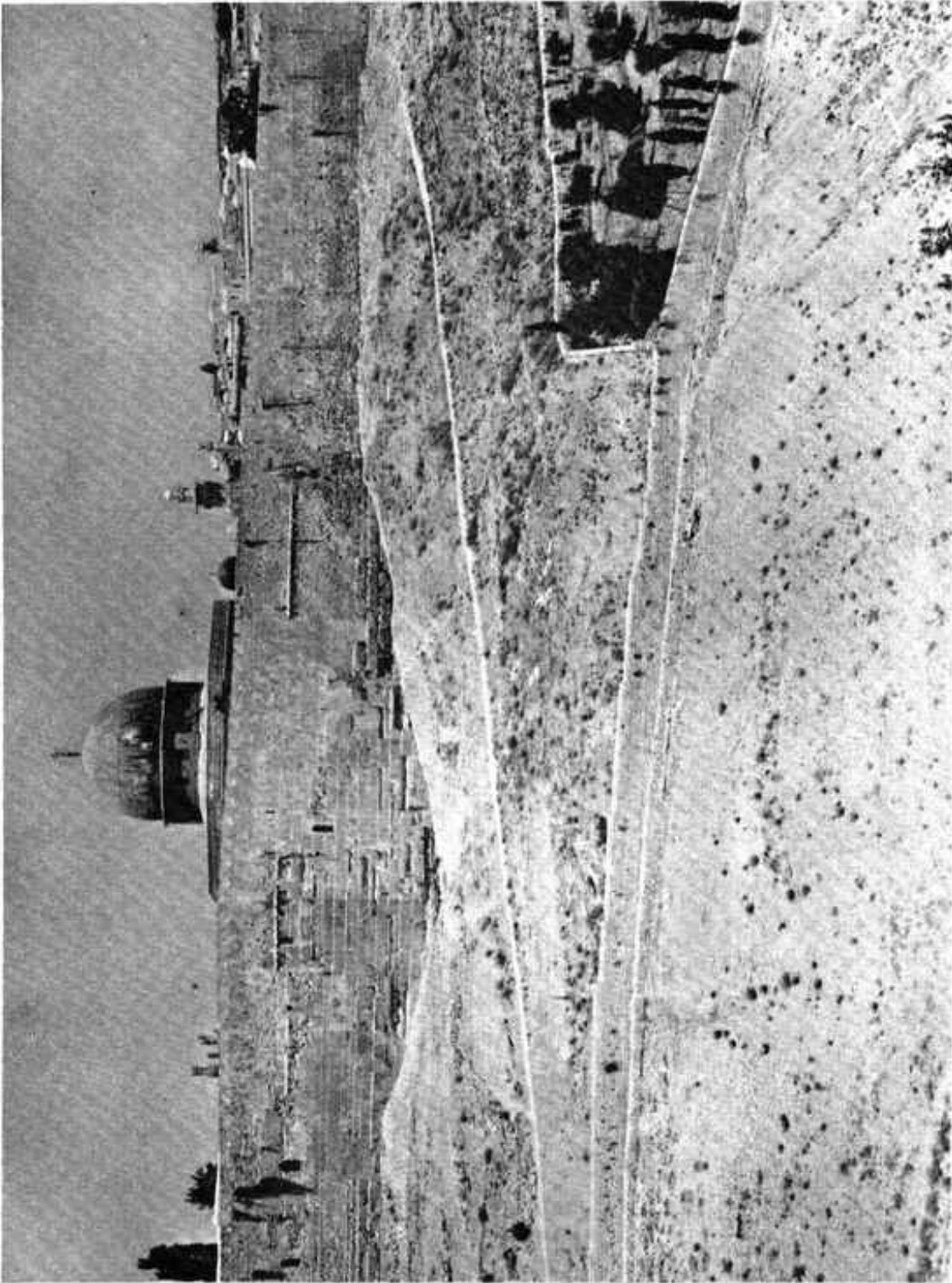
Agrippa's official duties in Jerusalem as supervisor of the temple brought him little but worry. He first exercised his right of nominating the high priest under Felix, when he re-appointed Ishmael son of Phabis. This appointment brought to a head troubles which had long been festering beneath the surface. The high-priestly aristocracy had for some time been rent by violent personal and family feuds, and, with the growth of the general spirit of anarchy, these now developed into regular faction fights. The protagonists enrolled gangs of roughs to support their claims, and their unseemly brawls disturbed the peace of the temple itself. The unfortunate Agrippa, as official arbiter of the disputes, naturally incurred the enmity of the defeated parties, and even his own nominee Ishmael turned against him. The spite of the ecclesiastical aristocracy against the king is well illustrated by the following incident, which occurred under Festus.

When he visited Jerusalem, Agrippa resided in the old palace of the Hasmonaean kings, which lay on the high ground immediately west of the temple enclosure, with which it was connected by a bridge spanning the intervening ravine. He had recently added to the palace a large banqueting-hall which commanded a full view of the temple. This addition caused indignation among the temple authorities, who held that it was unlawful that the inner court of the temple should be overlooked and the sacred rites be watched by outsiders. They accordingly built a high wall on top of the western colonnade of the inner court, which cut off Agrippa's view. Agrippa protested, and a demolition order was given by Festus, who not only resented the insult to the king but did

not approve of the temple's being screened from his own troops when they occupied the roofs of the outer colonnades. The Jews petitioned that the case might be referred to Nero, and, with Festus' permission, ten delegates, including the high priest and Helcias, the treasurer, were sent to Rome. Through the mediation of Poppaea, Nero's wife, who was strongly under Jewish influence, they obtained a favourable verdict. Nero, however, retained Helcias and Ishmael in Rome, and thus gave Agrippa the opportunity of appointing a high priest more agreeable to his views. He appointed Joseph Cabi son of Simon, but shortly deposed him also in favour of Ananus the son of Ananus. This Ananus proved an unfortunate choice. When, shortly after his appointment, Festus died, he took advantage of the interregnum which followed for a singularly high-handed action. He arrested James, the brother of Jesus of Nazareth, and other leading members of the sect, summoned a Sanhedrin, and having secured their condemnation for violation of the Jewish law, had them stoned. This defiance of the Roman government—the high priest could not summon the Sanhedrin without the procurator's leave, much less execute a death sentence—caused misgivings among the more law-abiding elements in Jerusalem, and the matter was reported to Agrippa, who promptly deposed Ananus when he had ruled only three months and appointed Jesus, the son of Damnaeus, in his stead.

He was succeeded by Jesus the son of Gamaliel, under whom the feuds between the leading high-priestly families broke out with renewed violence. There were brawls between the rival bands of retainers, in which the ex-high priest Ananias took a prominent part, as did also two members of the Herodian family, Saul and Costobar. Jesus was, in turn, soon replaced by Matthias son of Theophilus, who was destined to be Agrippa's last appointment.

About this time the restoration of the temple was at length



The Haram al Sharif from the south-east. See description on p. vii

completed. In order to postpone the serious unemployment which would have resulted from closing down the work—there were over eighteen thousand men on the pay-rolls—the work had been spun out as long as possible by putting the workmen on part time at full pay. The Sanhedrin now urged Agrippa, with whom, as controller of the temple and the sacred funds, the decision rested, to pull down and rebuild the eastern colonnades of the outer court, which were apparently of pre-Herodian date—Josephus attributes them to Solomon. Agrippa opposed this wasteful form of relief work, but assented to a second proposal, that the sacred funds should be employed on paving the streets of Jerusalem with marble: it may be recalled that a similar proposal by Pontius Pilatus to employ the sacred funds for an aqueduct had been howled down as sacrilege. Eventually, however, an accident saved the situation. Owing to a subsidence of the foundations the top 20 cubits of the temple itself collapsed. Agrippa immediately put in hand preparations for rebuilding, collecting timber of the huge size required for the work, which was destined never to be completed. At this time Agrippa was called upon to adjudicate another problem in connexion with the temple. The Levites who served in the temple choir sent up a petition to him that they might be allowed to wear linen garments like the priests. Agrippa, with the assent of the Sanhedrin, granted the request. Such a step might not seem to be of great importance, but Josephus says gravely of it: ‘All this was contrary to our ancestral laws, and whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to escape punishment.’

Under Gessius Florus the storm broke. How far he was responsible it is difficult to say. His character is consistently blackened by Josephus, who accuses him of almost every crime, but Josephus’ account is evidently tendentious; his theme is that the Jewish people, which was in the main loyal,



was thrown into the arms of an extremist minority by Florus' brutality; he even asserts that Florus deliberately provoked the revolt in order to cover up his misdeeds. But even allowing for Josephus' bias it is evident that Florus reversed his predecessor's conciliatory policy with unwise precipitancy, and that his own policy was tactless and even aggressive.

Florus was unlucky in that, soon after he arrived, Nero's decision on the citizenship of Caesarea was announced. It was unfavourable to the Jews; whether it was obtained, as Josephus asserts, by the bribery of Beryllus, Nero's secretary of state for Greek affairs, cannot be determined. The decision roused the Jews of Caesarea to the fury of despair and excited the Greeks to high-handed oppression. The trouble broke out over a synagogue. The adjacent block was owned by a Greek. The Jews had made many offers to purchase it for quite uneconomic sums, but the owner stubbornly refused, and insisted on building workshops on the land, in order to incommode the worshippers in the synagogue and make access to it difficult. Jewish roughs attacked the workmen but were arrested by Florus. Some of the wealthy Jews of Caesarea, led by a *tax-farmer named John*, then offered him 8 talents for his support. Florus accepted the money. Next Sabbath a Caesarean Greek deliberately outraged the Jews by planting an earthenware pot, bottom upward, in the entry of the synagogue and sacrificing birds on it: this was the ritual prescribed in the Mosaic law for the cleansing of lepers, and the implication was obvious. A riot followed in which the Jews were overpowered and many of them fled, carrying with them the books of the Law from the synagogue, out of Caesarean territory into the adjacent toparchy of Narbatene. John and his companions went to Florus, who was at Sebaste during this trouble, and reminded him of the 8 talents he had received of them; Florus responded by arresting them.

This incident caused great indignation among the Jews in



Jerusalem. Florus' next action roused their indignation to fever-heat. In the spring of A.D. 66 he sent orders that 17 talents should be taken from the temple treasure to be paid into the fiscus. Josephus does not record on what grounds this seizure was made. It is possible that the sum was requisitioned to make up arrears in tribute; we learn subsequently that there was a deficit of 40 talents. But even if this was so, Florus' action was unconstitutional and highly provocative. It aroused violent demonstrations against the procurator; beggars' baskets were handed round with an ironical appeal for alms for poor Florus. Cut to the quick by these insults, Florus marched with a large force to Jerusalem. The people, cowed by the show of force, submitted, but Florus was inexorable. He summoned the Sanhedrin and demanded that they should produce the culprits. They protested that the mass of the people were well disposed, and apologized for the disorders, which they said were the work of a few unruly spirits, but they professed to be unable to identify those who were responsible. Florus responded by ordering his troops to clear the Upper Market; many were killed and much property destroyed.

Agrippa at this time was at Alexandria, whither he had gone to congratulate Tiberius Alexander on his elevation to the prefecture of Egypt. Berenice, however, happened to be in Jerusalem performing a vow: this involved a residence of thirty days, during which she shaved her head and abstained from wine, before she could offer the sacrifice she had promised. She went to Florus and appealed to him to adopt a more conciliatory attitude. Her appeal was rebuffed with insulting contempt. The Jewish authorities were by now thoroughly alarmed by the violent temper of the people, and the members of the Sanhedrin organized a demonstration. The temple staff produced the sacred vessels and vestments and musical instruments, and begged the crowd not to

endanger the safety of these holy objects by provoking the wrath of the Roman government, and the chief priests made a personal appeal to the people, tearing their garments and putting dust on their heads. This demonstration had a sobering effect. Unfortunately it was rapidly counteracted by the provocative conduct of two cohorts which arrived at this moment, and fresh rioting broke out of a more serious character. Florus tried to reinforce the garrison of the Antonia, and the rioters, fearing that he might attempt to seize the temple, not only drove back the reinforcements but cut off the Antonia by breaking down the adjacent colonnades of the temple court. Florus in his turn now became alarmed at the violence of the storm he had provoked, and, wishing to avoid responsibility for the further developments of a situation which he felt to be out of his control, he summoned the Jewish authorities and asked them how many troops they would require to maintain order. Fearing that the Roman troops, owing to their recent provocative behaviour, would be an embarrassment rather than an asset, the Sanhedrin requested that only the one cohort normally stationed in Jerusalem should be left, and Florus then withdrew with the rest of his troops to Caesarea and notified Cestius Gallus, the legate of Syria, of the seriousness of the situation.

Agrippa first heard of the troubles when he landed at Jamnia on his return from Alexandria. Here he was met by a delegation from the Sanhedrin, sent to enlist his support against Florus, and also by a tribune, Neapolitanus, who had been dispatched by Cestius Gallus to report on the situation; Gallus had received reports of a very diverse character from Florus on the one hand, and Berenice and the Sanhedrin on the other, and he wished to discover whether the alarmist view taken by Florus, who was after all a new-comer, was justified. Agrippa and Neapolitanus went up to Jerusalem together and were given an enthusiastic welcome by the

people, who imagined that they had come to investigate Florus' misconduct. Neapolitanus soon satisfied himself that there was no cause for alarm and returned to Gallus to report to this effect. When he had gone the people petitioned Agrippa to sponsor a delegation to the emperor to complain of Florus' conduct. Agrippa, whether wisely or not it is hard to say, set his face against this proposal. The situation was difficult and complex. For the moment the whole people, including the aristocracy on the one extreme and the revolutionaries on the other, were united in denouncing Florus. Agrippa knew that the upper classes, indignant as they were at Florus' behaviour, were loyal to Rome and would remain so in any case. He knew, too, that the aim of the left-wing parties was an independent Jewish state and a new social order, and that Florus' disgrace would do nothing to placate them and might, on the contrary, increase their confidence. The temper of the masses was obscure. Would they, if the present procurator were removed, settle down peaceably under his successor? Or were they, too, resolved to throw off Roman rule altogether? In so far as the former view was true, Agrippa, in upholding Florus, ran the risk of throwing the people into the arms of the extremists. But if the latter view were nearer to the truth, Agrippa would, if he secured Florus' condemnation, be merely encouraging rebellion. The Jews were already dangerously elated by the success of their guerrilla methods in paralysing the local Roman administration, and if their recent open revolt should be met by concessions their self-confidence would know no bounds. Agrippa took the second view of the situation, and, summoning the people to his palace, he delivered a long and weighty harangue. He began by saying that he knew that there were certain elements which desired war and revolution. To them he had nothing to say since their minds were made up, but he appealed to the vast majority. They complained of the

government of the procurators. He did not deny that some were bad, but that was inevitable in so vast an empire as the Roman; the emperor, who wished the best for his subjects, could not see what happened in every corner of his dominions. And the best way to cope with bad governors was to be submissive to them and not to irritate them to further excesses; moreover, however bad they were, they did not last for ever. Going a step farther, he urged his hearers to ask themselves carefully what they meant when they complained of the procurators. Were they sure that their grievance was against particular acts of injustice only? He had heard too much talk of the bondage under which the Jewish people groaned. Did this mean that they resented not only bad governors but Roman rule in any shape? If that were so let them reflect a little on the realities of the situation. Agrippa then proceeded to set forth the invincible power of the Roman empire. Moving inexorably from province to province he showed how nations far more numerous, far richer, and far more warlike than the Jews had one and all submitted to the might of the Roman people. If all these peoples, many of whom, like the Macedonians or the Carthaginians, had memories not only of liberty but of imperial greatness, were content to be subject to Rome, why should the Jews alone claim exemption from her universal sway? What reason had they to hope for victory, when nations far more powerful had been defeated? God would aid them, they would reply. But it must be by God's will that the Romans had established their empire, and if they rebelled they would of necessity break the law of God—or would they, like their ancestors, court defeat by keeping the sabbath even in time of war?—and so forfeit their one claim to God's favour. Finally he warned them of the dreadful results of an unsuccessful revolt. The holy city would be destroyed, and not even the temple would be spared.

This speech had a sobering effect, and the people, though they still persisted in their outcry against Florus, protested their loyalty to the empire. Agrippa took advantage of the revulsion of feeling to urge them to show their loyalty in a practical form. The tribute was still 40 talents in arrear, and the temple colonnades adjoining the Antonia had been pulled down. The tribute was Caesar's and the Antonia was his fortress, not Florus'. Let them prove that their rebellion was against Florus and not against the emperor by collecting the arrears and rebuilding the colonnades. This appeal was favourably received, and the crowd, with Agrippa and Berenice at its head, marched up to the temple and began the repairs forthwith, while the Sanhedrin apportioned the work of collecting the tribute among its members, who soon got in from the several villages allotted to them enough to cover the deficit. Agrippa would perhaps have been wise at this stage to have been content with the victory he had won and abandon the cause of Florus. But he persisted in urging the people to submit to his rule—at any rate till the emperor should send a successor—and this gave a handle to the extremist party. The king's popularity began to wane, his speeches were hissed and shouted down, and eventually stones were thrown at him. Agrippa, seeing that he could no longer control the people, decided that he would be more useful elsewhere, and, having first arranged that a number of the aristocracy should go to Florus at Caesarea in order to arrange for the collection of the tribute in the rest of the country—the Sanhedrin had apparently dealt only with the Jerusalem toparchy—he left the city. He was never to enter it again.

No sooner was Agrippa's back turned than the movement began to take a definitely treasonable form. The leader was the same Eleazar, the commander of the temple and the son of the ex-high priest Ananias, who had played into the hands

of the Sicarii in Albinus' time. He now proposed that henceforth no sacrifice should be made in the temple on behalf of gentiles. The significance of this proposal was not far to seek: every day sacrifice was offered on behalf of one gentile, the emperor. The Sanhedrin realized that the suspension of the daily offering on behalf of the emperor would put the seal of formal rebellion on the disorders, and it fought desperately to prevent it. The high priests, the chiefs of the lay aristocracy, and the conservative leaders of the Pharisee party got together and debated what was to be done. They decided to hold a mass meeting in the temple court, outside the Brazen Gate, and to endeavour to impress upon the people the desperate character of the step they proposed to take. The most learned doctors of the law argued that the proposal was an innovation contrary to the uniform practice of their ancestors, who had always received the offerings of gentiles. The high priests solemnly warned the people that it was an open act of defiance to the emperor and would inevitably be visited by a terrible vengeance: if they would not sacrifice for the emperor, it was greatly to be feared that they would not be permitted to sacrifice at all, that the temple would be destroyed and the worship of God would cease utterly. But neither appeal to the Law nor counsels of prudence had any effect on the inflamed temper of the people. Eleazar, backed by the temple staff, humble priests of fanatical temper, carried the day, and the daily sacrifice on behalf of the emperor ceased. Josephus dates from this day the formal beginning of the revolt.

The Sanhedrin, seeing its authority flouted, decided that there was nothing for it but to call in military aid. Delegates were accordingly sent both to Florus and to Agrippa, begging for troops to stay the rebellion. Florus did not care to risk his men and rejected the appeal. Agrippa promptly sent three thousand cavalry, pagans from Auranitis, Trachonitis,

and Batanaea, under the command of Philip, son of Iacimus, the prince of the Babylonian community in Batanaea and his commander-in-chief, and of Darius, his master of the horse. With the aid of these troops the loyalists occupied the Upper City. The rebels controlled the temple and the Lower City. The Roman troops were partly in the Upper City, partly cut off in the Antonia. After a week's fighting the rebels, under Eleazar's leadership, carried the Upper City, the royal and Roman troops with the Jewish loyalists retreating into the palace. The mob, reinforced by bands of Sicarii, now began to get out of its leader's control. It burnt the record office, and then plundered and destroyed the palace of Agrippa and Berenice and the house of Eleazar's own father, Ananias; many aristocrats who had not taken refuge in the Upper Palace were hunted down and killed. After this interlude the rebel forces rallied again and stormed the Antonia, massacring the Roman garrison. They then proceeded to attack the Upper Palace. The siege made little progress till they were reinforced by Manahem, another of the sons of the famous brigand chief Judas of Galilee. He had seized the fortress of Masada by a ruse, and, having massacred the Roman garrison and equipped his followers from the armoury, was the commander of a well-armed force. The siege was now pressed with vigour until the enemy offered to surrender under a capitulation. The offer was accepted for the royal troops and the Jews only, and the attack was pressed against the Romans, who, deserted by their allies, retreated into the three towers, the Phasael, Mariamme, and Hippicus. A short respite was granted to them by a feud which now broke out in the ranks of the besiegers. Manahem, whose band, though far outnumbered by the townsmen, was well armed and disciplined, established a reign of terror, hunting down and murdering the aristocrats, amongst them Eleazar's father Ananias. Eleazar, seeing his position threatened, rallied the townsmen.

They responded to his call, and after a severe struggle Manahem's band was overpowered and Manahem himself put to death with many torments. After this the siege was resumed, and eventually the Romans agreed to surrender if only their lives were spared. The terms of the surrender were sworn to, and Metilius, the Roman commander, led his men out and disarmed them. The rebels immediately turned upon them and slaughtered them; only Metilius, who offered to turn Jew and be circumcised, was spared.

The revolt in Jerusalem was the signal for a pogrom of the Jews in Caesarea; over twenty thousand are said to have been massacred. The Jews responded with reprisals, ravaging the territory of all the neighbouring Greek cities, Philadelphia and Gerasa, Pella and Scythopolis, Hippos and Gadara, and all the coast cities from Tyre to Gaza. Most of these cities responded by massacring or imprisoning their Jewish populations; an honourable exception was the Gerasenes. At Alexandria also the perennial feud between the Greeks and the Jews flared up, and there were riots in which the Jews gained the upper hand till the prefect Tiberius Alexander turned his two legions on to them and sacked the Delta quarter. The conflict had its repercussions in Agrippa's kingdom also. Agrippa himself, more anxious to nip the rebellion in Jerusalem in the bud than about the security of his own dominions, had gone to Berytus in order to concert measures with Cestius Gallus, the legate, and had left his kingdom in charge of his vizier, Noarus. This Noarus was a member of the princely line of Arca which Agrippa had supplanted, and the opportunity afforded by the Jewish revolt proved too much for his loyalty. He could not but hope that Agrippa as a Jew might be deposed by the Roman government, and that he, if he made a vigorous demonstration of his loyalty to the Roman cause, might, as a member of a royal family which had ruled in these parts, be chosen as his successor. Unfor-



fortunately for his designs the Jews of the kingdom gave him no opportunity for displaying his zeal. But though they remained loyal, Noarus took precautionary measures so energetic as to be provocative. He first executed on a charge of conspiracy a number of the leading Jews of Caesarea Paneas. He then ordered the heads of the Jewish community to go to their Babylonian brethren in Batanaea, and inform them that reports had been received that they intended to rebel against the king, and command them as a pledge of their loyalty to deliver up their arms and to send seventy of their notables as hostages to the capital. The seventy hostages were duly sent and Noarus promptly executed them and marched on the Babylonian settlement, hoping to find it leaderless and unprepared. The Jews had, however, been forewarned and had retreated to the neighbouring fortress of Gamala, and Noarus had to content himself with seizing all their property and their herds of cattle, which they had left in their villages in their hasty flight. The Babylonians were now eager for revenge and wished to march against Caesarea and overthrow Noarus, who, it was rumoured, had killed Agrippa and usurped the throne. This development would have suited Noarus' plans excellently, but unfortunately it was checked in an unexpected manner. Philip, the son of Iacimus, who had commanded the king's troops at Jerusalem, suddenly appeared on the scene. He had apparently, after the surrender of his men, stayed in Jerusalem. He had narrowly escaped death in the reign of terror inaugurated by Manahem, but had been concealed by some of his Babylonian kinsmen who lived at Jerusalem and had escaped with the aid of a wig. Thus disguised he had made his way to one of his own villages in Gaulanitis, where he had been laid low by an attack of malaria; his letters to Agrippa had been intercepted by Noarus, who gave out that he had joined the Jewish rebels at Jerusalem. On the arrival of his

Babylonian subjects at Gamala he took command of them and induced them to keep the peace. Noarus' hopes of a Jewish revolt were thus foiled. Eventually news of his doings, despite his efforts to close the frontier, percolated to Agrippa at Berytus, and he sent a more reliable man, Aequus Modius, to judge by his name a Roman, to supersede him.

Meanwhile Cestius Gallus had moved against the rebels. He collected a very considerable army. Of his own troops he took the twelfth legion and drafts of 2,000 men from each of the other two legions, and six auxiliary cohorts and four squadrons of horse. Antiochus, king of Commagene, provided him with 3,000 archers and 2,000 cavalry, Sohaemus of Emesa with 2,000 archers and 1,000 cavalry, Agrippa with 3,000 infantry and nearly 2,000 cavalry; Agrippa himself accompanied the march, to assist Cestius by his knowledge of the country, and to advise on the political side of the campaign. Cestius detached one of his legates to restore order in Galilee; this was rapidly done, the city of Sepphoris throwing open its gates to the Romans. He then seized Joppa and marched up to Jerusalem. At Bethoron a Jewish army barred his way. Agrippa now asked leave of Cestius to make one last appeal to the Jews. He sent two of his entourage who he thought would be acceptable to the Jews, Borcius and Phoebus, to offer on Cestius' behalf an amnesty for all their previous offences if they would now lay down their arms. But the extremists were afraid that their followers' resolution might be weakened by a parley, and the two envoys were met with volleys of stone; one was killed, the other escaped wounded. Cestius pressed on and occupied Mount Scopus, overlooking the city. He still hoped for a surrender. He knew that the Jews were divided amongst themselves and that there still was a strong pro-Roman party within the walls. The sight of the Roman army might, he calculated, weaken the morale of the mass of the people and enable the loyalists to

gain the ascendancy. In point of fact the people were panic-stricken, but the extremists were resolved not to yield and kept a firm hold over them. After waiting for three days Cestius attacked the city. The rebels, unable to rely on the people, made no attempt to hold the outer parts of the town, and Cestius occupied the New and Upper Cities without opposition, the rebels retiring into the Lower City and the temple. At this stage the pro-Roman party offered to open the gates to Cestius, but before the negotiations were complete the conspiracy was detected. The Romans now attacked the walls of the Lower City for five days, but without success; a second attack on the north wall of the temple was equally unsuccessful. Cestius decided that there was no hope of storming the walls; his expectation that he would gain assistance from within the walls had been disappointed; the morale of the rebels seemed unshaken. He was in no position to undertake a regular siege: his situation was indeed precarious, since he had marched on Jerusalem without subduing the neighbouring country, in the hopes of achieving his purpose by a sudden blow, and if he delayed longer—it was already November—he ran the risk of being cut off without provisions. He accordingly decided to retreat. The effect of this decision was disastrous. The rebels, suddenly raised from the depths of despair to jubilant triumph by the sight of the invincible Romans slinking away defeated, swarmed out after Cestius' army. Pursuing the guerrilla tactics at which they were adepts, they harassed his retreat till it became a rout. Cestius reached Caesarea with the loss of large quantities of war material and nearly six thousand men.

After this spectacular success the moderates gave up all attempt to oppose the rebellion openly; it was impossible, now that a Roman army had been defeated in the field, to urge submission on the excited populace. The educated classes knew that only one Roman army had been defeated, and that

largely owing to the rashness and indecision of its commander, who had first under-estimated the difficulties of his task and had then not had the courage to push through his over-bold enterprise. They knew that not even all the resources of the province of Syria had been mobilized against the revolt, and that the Roman government, when it realized the seriousness of the situation, would concentrate all its forces on suppressing the rebellion. But it was useless now to urge reason on the people. They were convinced that the day of the Lord had at last come, and the kingdoms of this world were doomed to destruction. Many of the more notorious pro-Romans had been murdered in the first uprising, in Manahem's reign of terror or during Cestius' attack on the city, and others, including the Herodian princes Saul and Costobar, now fled from Jerusalem. It was now perhaps also that the Christian community, in deference to the warnings of its prophets, migrated to Pella of the Decapolis; the Christians, it is true, shared the popular belief that the kingdom of God was at hand, but it was to be a kingdom of which they, and not the Jews, were to be the aristocracy, and they had therefore little sympathy with the Jewish national movement. There survived of the official aristocracy only those whose attachment to the Roman cause had been less openly proclaimed, and they now assumed the leadership of the rebellion. It is somewhat surprising that they should have been able to oust the extremists from power, but the force of habit is strong and they were the acknowledged heads of the Jewish people, most of them members of the Pharisee party, revered for their piety, and as soon as they conformed with the popular will the people rallied to them. They proceeded to organize the defence of the country, dividing it up into districts over each of which they set commanders drawn from their own body. What precisely their aims were it is difficult to discover, and it may reasonably be doubted

whether they had any clearly conceived plan of operations. Though they organized the defence, the half-hearted spirit in which they did so argues that they had little hope of a successful resistance. Their efforts were much more seriously bent on preventing any clash with the Roman troops or with the neighbouring cities or with King Agrippa. It may be that, by eschewing provocative conduct and at the same time strengthening their defensive position, they hoped both to placate the Roman government and to give it cause to hesitate before embarking on a war of subjugation. There might then be hope of fruitful negotiations. In any case their immediate policy was clear, to retain control of the movement themselves, and at all costs to restrain the extremists, whose objectives both at home and abroad, a social revolution and a holy war against the gentiles, were equally distasteful to them. Such a policy was foredoomed to failure because the mass of the people was set on war. In the last resort they would have to declare themselves one way or another, and either lead the people against the Romans or be thrust aside as traitors to the national cause. In the meanwhile it involved them in a maze of inconsistencies. In order to retain the allegiance of the people they were obliged to sanction acts of aggression which jeopardized the chances of a peaceful settlement, while their measures of defence were hampered by the necessity of keeping the left wing of the movement in check.

Agrippa had done his best, as unofficial mediator, to resolve the conflict between the imperial government and the Jewish people. His efforts had been in vain, and now nothing remained for him but loyally to discharge his duties as a client king. At the moment no Roman army was in the field. Cestius Gallus had reported his failure to Nero, and advised the appointment of a special legate with more adequate forces to deal with the Jewish revolt. Meanwhile Agrippa had to

defend his own kingdom as best he could with his own forces. His detached Peraean toparchies were obviously untenable, and he seems to have made no attempt to hold them. The other danger-point was Gaulanitis, with its predominantly Jewish population, and the two Galilaean toparchies, Taricheae and Tiberias. Here his official opponent was a young priest, Joseph the son of Matthias, who had been sent by the authorities at Jerusalem to organize the defence of Galilee and Gaulanitis; and since Josephus, to use the form of the name by which he is generally known, later wrote a history of the war and also an autobiography, in which he described this part of his career in great detail, we are very fully informed of the progress of events in this quarter. Josephus' account well illustrates the hopeless conflict of purposes in the policy of the moderates outlined above. The account is, it is true, complicated by Josephus' desire to represent himself to his readers as at once a zealous champion of the Jewish cause and a loyal subject of Rome, and by his denunciation of his Jewish rivals as traitors both to the government and to their people. But the confusion of the story is not entirely due to Josephus' way of telling it. The inconsistency existed in fact, and neither Josephus nor his rivals could make up their minds how far they were leading a national revolt or endeavouring to hold it in check.

Josephus was in a peculiarly embarrassing position in that he did not wish to antagonize Agrippa, whose goodwill would be of the utmost value in the event of negotiations with the Romans. At the same time he could not, if he was to retain the allegiance of the fanatical Galilaean peasantry, refrain from supporting revolts in his territory. At Taricheae he had no choice, for the townsmen immediately threw off their allegiance and rallied to his standard. Gaulanitis, he was relieved to find, was quiet under the command of Philip of Iacimus, and he made no attempt to attack it. Later, how-

ever, Agrippa, over-confident of the submissive temper of the Gaulanites, ordered Philip to repatriate his Babylonians, and so soon as they were gone Gamala rose and the rest of the district followed suit. Josephus, in response to an appeal for help, was obliged to support the rebels and fortify a number of their villages. Agrippa had not sufficient forces to recapture the country and had to content himself with sending Aequus Modius to blockade Gamala. In Tiberias the situation was complicated in the extreme. The governing body, which included a number of Agrippa's officials, was for the most part loyal to the king. The proletariat was strongly revolutionary in temper. An ambiguous position was occupied by a young aristocrat, Justus the son of Pistus, who was at the moment a leader of the war party—he had before Josephus' arrival led the people of Tiberias on raids against the villages belonging to Gadara and Hippos—but was later to change his mind. Josephus' real sympathies lay with the governing class, but he had to reckon with the zeal of his Galilaean followers, who detested the Tiberians as oppressive landlords and extortionate tax-collectors, and would be only too glad of an excuse to wreak vengeance on them in the national cause. He accordingly summoned the authorities of the city and with difficulty persuaded them to throw off their allegiance to the king and accept a governor appointed by himself. He also suggested that, as a gesture of loyalty to the Jewish law, they should allow his men to demolish the palace which Antipas had built in their city and adorned with statues. This the authorities were very unwilling to sanction, but while they hesitated the city proletariat took the matter out of their hands by plundering and burning the palace themselves. Josephus was much put out, for he had intended to carry out the demolition in an orderly manner and not to damage the valuable furniture. All he could do now was to recover as much as he could from the rioters, and this he

entrusted to the finance committee of the city for eventual restitution to Agrippa. The attitude of Tiberias remained ambiguous throughout the winter. At first Justus, who vehemently resented Josephus' intrusion on his preserve, gained the upper hand and transferred the city's allegiance to a rival and more energetic patriot leader, John of Gischala. Next the pro-Roman party entered into communication with Agrippa, asking for military support, but Josephus, having, by an ingenious ruse, kidnapped the whole city council and privately assured them of his pacific intentions, once again restored his ascendancy. Justus then again got control of the town in the interests of John of Gischala, and the pair intrigued at Jerusalem to get Josephus deposed from his command. Josephus was, however, able to rally the Galilaeans against the new general sent to succeed him. Tiberias he was obliged to storm, but he congratulates himself that little damage was done. Shortly afterwards the Galilaeans captured a message from Agrippa which revealed that the pro-Roman party in Tiberias had again appealed to the king. Josephus was highly embarrassed; it was difficult to restrain his followers from sacking the city on this evidence of renewed treachery, and the captured messenger was an awkward problem, for he was one of the king's chamberlains and Agrippa would resent his death. The second problem Josephus solved by making the guards drunk. The first was more difficult, but eventually Josephus induced his followers, by promises of dire vengeance on those responsible for the treason, to leave the matter in his hands. Justus had apparently on this occasion taken the side of the loyalists; he fled to Agrippa on the city's surrender to Josephus.

Josephus thus, while nominally abetting the revolt of Tiberias, sedulously preserved in power the men who he knew would on the first opportunity return to the king's allegiance. Agrippa no doubt realized the true tendency of



Josephus' policy, and this may account for the lukewarm support he gave to his supporters in the city: it was safer, he calculated, that Tiberias should be in nominal revolt than that it should, by open defiance of the rebels, run the risk of destruction. In various minor ways also Josephus endeavoured to make it plain to the king that there need be no ill will between them. Two Trachonite chiefs, who had quarrelled with the king for reasons of their own, took refuge with him. They were rather embarrassing allies, for Josephus on the one hand did not wish to harbour the king's enemies, and his followers on the other were suspicious of them: they were pagans, and had no intention of adopting the Jewish faith, and the rumour soon went round that they were magicians in the service of the Romans who were casting spells over the Jews. Josephus had some trouble to prevent their being lynched, but eventually persuaded them that they would be safer in the king's territory, and successfully smuggled them out by water to the territory of Hippos, whence they made their way to Agrippa, who received them graciously. Josephus prides himself on the fact that they lost nothing but their horses, for which he paid them compensation in money. A second incident had a less satisfactory conclusion. Some Galilaeans, learning that the wife of Ptolemy, one of the king's officials, was travelling under escort from the king's territory to Ptolemais, attacked the party and, driving off the escort, captured all the luggage: the lady herself escaped. Josephus, on hearing of this exploit, commandeered the loot, nominally to be kept for the authorities at Jerusalem, but in reality intending to restore it to its owner. The Galilaeans, highly indignant at being deprived of the fruits of their enterprise and suspecting Josephus' true purpose, raised a riot at Taricheae, where Josephus then was, and to save his life Josephus had to pretend that his real object in commandeering the loot was to use it to fortify the town. The

townsmen rallied to his side and Josephus re-established his authority; but the money had to be spent on the fortifications.

Agrippa had little hesitation at leaving his kingdom to the mercy of so obliging an enemy when next spring (A.D. 67) news came that the new legate whom Nero had appointed to conduct the Jewish war, Titus Flavius Vespasianus, was shortly due at Antioch. There were concentrated at Antioch two legions, V Macedonica and X Fretensis, with their complement of auxiliary troops, and contingents from Antiochus of Commagene, Sohaemus of Emesa, and Malchus of Arabia; to them Agrippa added his contingent. On Vespasian's arrival the whole army moved south to Ptolemais. Sepphoris, which had been consistently pro-Roman in its attitude and had been tactfully neglected by Josephus, promptly asked for a garrison, and 7,000 men were detached to occupy it. Vespasian meanwhile awaited the arrival of his son Titus, who was bringing up a third legion, XV Apollinaris, from Alexandria, with the Sebastene troops from Palestine. When the junction had been effected Vespasian moved the whole army, which now numbered upwards of 50,000 men, into Galilee. Before this overwhelming force Josephus' levies melted away without a blow, and Vespasian was left with the wearisome task of storming the several strongholds in which they had taken refuge. He first attacked Jotapata, where Josephus himself was in command. After a siege of nearly two months it was taken, Josephus himself being captured. Vespasian now quartered two of his legions at Caesarea and the third at Scythopolis for a well-earned rest, while he himself, on Agrippa's invitation, visited Caesarea Paneas, where he was magnificently entertained for three weeks. In return for this hospitality Vespasian next undertook the subjugation of the rebellious parts of Agrippa's kingdom. Calling up his legions he moved on Tiberias. Knowing from Agrippa that there was a considerable pro-Roman party in the city, he first sent an officer

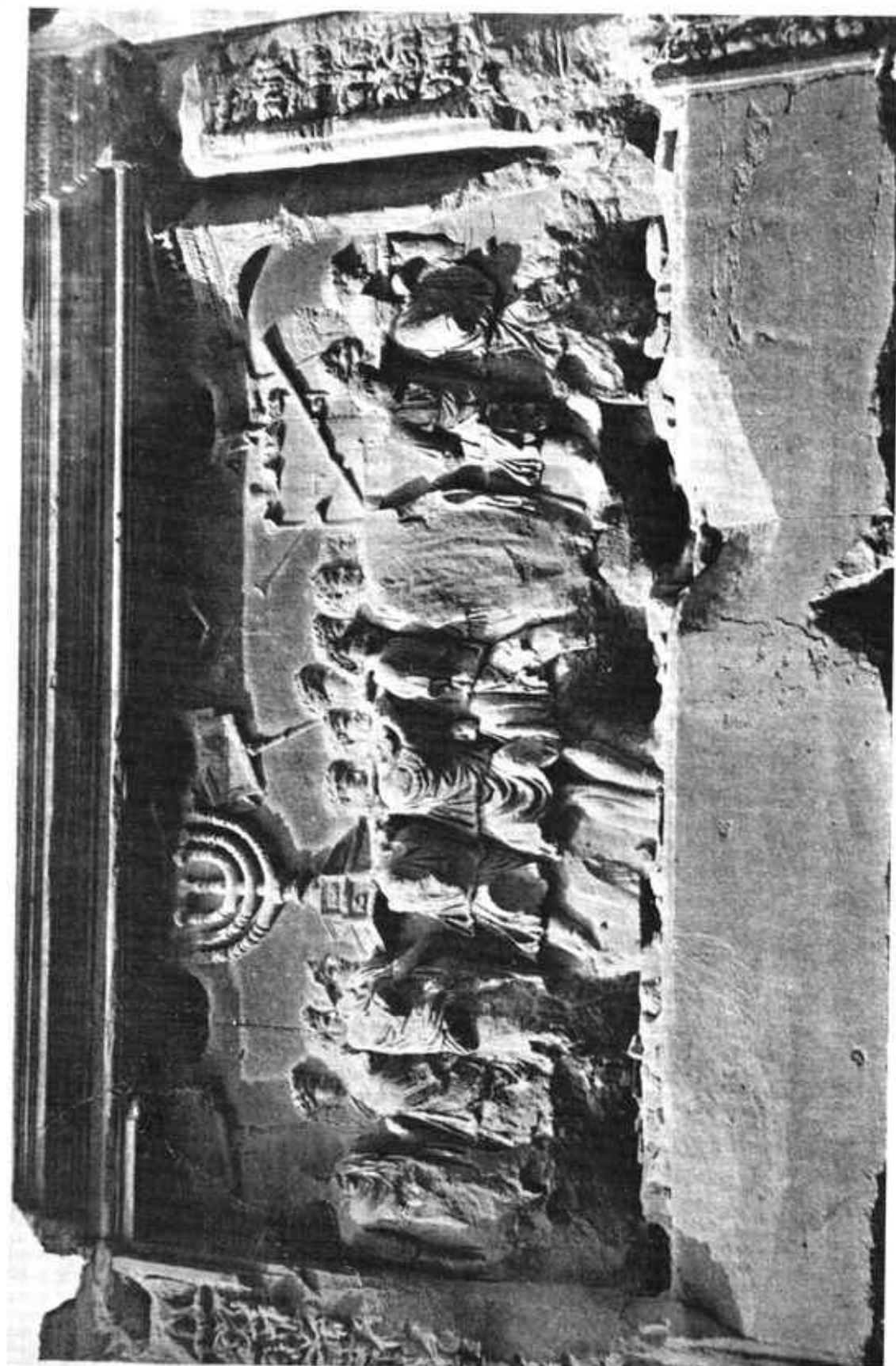
with fifty horsemen to call upon the citizens to surrender, but the extremists, who were now in control of the city, made a sortie and drove off the party. The principal men now fled to the Roman camp, and begged Vespasian to spare the city. Their plea was strongly supported by Agrippa, who did not wish to see the second city of his kingdom ruined, and Vespasian consented to attempt a second parley. This time it was successful, for the extremists had fled to Taricheae, finding their position in Tiberias untenable, and the citizens opened the gates to the Romans. At Taricheae, where all the more resolute rebels had congregated, the resistance was stubborn. The town was carried by storm and Vespasian made an example of it, killing and enslaving the whole population. There remained Gamala. Owing to its enormous natural strength it took the Roman army a month to capture the town; the defenders were all put to the sword in the final assault.

It was now November, and operations ceased for the year. Next spring (A.D. 68) Vespasian proceeded to reduce the strongholds of western Judaea, Idumaea, and Peraea, gradually closing in on Jerusalem. Here savage internecine feuds were raging. The extremists, daily augmented by bands of refugees from the surrounding country, rose against the moderate leaders, seizing the temple; it is significant of their social ideals that they threw open the high-priesthood to the whole body of the priests and that the lot actually fell on a humble peasant. The ex-high priest Ananus rallied the townsmen and succeeded in storming the outer court, but the extremists sent out for help to Idumaea, declaring that Ananus was trying to betray the temple to the Romans. A horde of fanatical Idumaeans marched to the rescue, and with their aid the extremists made themselves masters of the city, massacring the moderate leaders. Vespasian was preparing to move on Jerusalem itself when news came that Nero had

fallen and Galba had been proclaimed emperor. Since there was no urgent need to press the attack, seeing that the Jews were busily killing each other, Vespasian decided to suspend operations pending instructions from the new emperor, to whom he sent his respects by his son Titus.

Agrippa, seeing that his kingdom was pacified and his services no longer required in the war, decided to accompany Titus. At Corinth the pair learned that Galba had been overthrown by Otho, and Titus, thinking that in the civil war that was obviously brewing he had better be at his father's side, turned back. Agrippa went on to Rome, where he probably arrived in time to pay his allegiance to Otho but had soon to transfer it to Otho's conqueror Vitellius. In the spring of next year (A.D. 69) he was advised by his agents that there was a movement in the eastern provinces to proclaim Vespasian emperor. His interests obviously lay with the new claimant and he hastily left Rome before the news became public and hurried back to Palestine to offer his support to Vespasian. He arrived to find that Berenice had already in his absence pledged the support of his kingdom to the newly proclaimed emperor. A few months later Vespasian's triumph justified this prudent rebellion and guaranteed the security of his throne.

The siege of Jerusalem was finally undertaken next year (A.D. 70) by Titus. Agrippa, as in duty bound, assisted with his army. We are not told with what emotions he watched the relentless advance of the attack, as wall after wall was breached by the engines, until at length the Roman troops burst into the temple itself. But it must have been a bitter sight for him to see the sacred courts, where no gentile might set foot, and even the Holy Place, where he himself had never penetrated, invaded by the Roman soldiers and desecrated with slaughter and pillage. Even more bitter must it have been to see the splendid sanctuary which his famous great-



Titus' Triumph over the Jews (sculpture on the Arch of Titus at Rome). See description on p. viii

grandfather had built, which his father had saved from desecration, and over which he himself had watched for twenty years, crashing down in flames, and to watch the table of the shewbread and the great seven-branched candlestick being dragged from the blazing pile to adorn the conqueror's triumph. And it must have been a heavy blow to him when he learnt the emperor's decision that the Holy City was to be razed to the ground and that the worship of the God of Israel was to cease for ever. But that he was moved to pity by the massacre and enslavement of his fellow countrymen is unlikely. For generation after generation his dynasty had striven to wean the people of Judaea from their intolerant pride and to induce them to accept the gentile world and take their place in it. But they had persisted in their stiff-necked rejection of all standards save their own, and now their pride had brought down upon themselves, and not only upon themselves but upon many thousands of Jews who, like Agrippa himself, had been willing to accept political subjection as the price of religious toleration, this crowning catastrophe. Agrippa must have looked with hatred rather than pity on the long rows of figures who hung on their crosses round the ruins of what had once been Jerusalem. It was these perverse fanatics, not the Romans, who had brought about the destruction of the Holy City, and it was because of their stiff-necked arrogance that never again would sacrifice be offered to God in His holy temple.

Agrippa accompanied Titus on his triumphal march northwards and entertained him in his capital, where he watched the slaughter of 2,500 Jewish prisoners in the wild-beast fights and gladiatorial shows with which Titus celebrated his brother Domitian's birthday. After this he almost fades out of history. We know that he was rewarded for his consistent loyalty to the empire by an accession of territory, but where it lay we are not told. We know too that he visited Rome

with his sister in A.D. 75 and was granted the titular rank of praetor. Berenice had set high hopes on this visit. During the years of the Jewish campaign young Titus, the emperor's son and heir, had fallen deeply in love with her. The romance is a curious one and shows that Berenice must have been a woman of singular charm and powerful personality; for she was already thirty-nine when she first met Titus, who was thirteen years her junior. She now, at the age of forty-seven, completely re-established her ascendancy over Titus: they lived openly together as man and wife, and Titus had serious thoughts of contracting a legal marriage with her. But Berenice's hopes of becoming empress of Rome were not to be fulfilled. Roman public opinion, which had never forgotten Cleopatra, looked askance at oriental queens, and Titus was reluctantly compelled to send her home. When, four years later, Titus became emperor, Berenice again visited Rome, hoping that now perhaps he would dare to defy public opinion. But Titus was too prudent to sacrifice his popularity to the gratification of his personal desires: and besides Berenice was now over fifty.

Agrippa reigned more than twenty years after the fall of Jerusalem. His latter years seem to have been peaceful. The civilization of his Ituraean subjects was proceeding apace and on his death they were to be peaceably brought under direct Roman administration. The Jews were for the moment thoroughly cowed; they were not to give serious trouble again till many years after his death. Agrippa was reconciled with both his opponents in Galilee in the great revolt. Justus had narrowly escaped execution on Vespasian's first arrival *on the scene*, when the Decapolitan cities had denounced him for his raids into their territory. Vespasian had handed him over for execution to Agrippa, but Agrippa had kept him in prison and eventually, when the storm blew over, released him. He later took him into his service as secretary of state,



but was, according to Josephus, compelled to dismiss him for forging documents. Josephus had, by a lucky prophecy of Vespasian's future greatness, secured his release and later the grant of the Roman citizenship and a pension and the restoration of his estates, which Domitian made tax-free. He devoted the rest of his life to literary work, writing first a history of the Jewish War in seven books and then a complete history of the Jewish people down to the war in twenty books. He regularly sent the instalments of his books as they came out to Agrippa, asking for his criticism, and Agrippa took a considerable interest in the progress of the work. Josephus proudly treasured a file of sixty-eight letters from his illustrious correspondent, two of which he has reproduced *in extenso* in his autobiography.

The very date of Agrippa's death is uncertain, but it probably fell in about A.D. 93. He was probably the last of his family to wear the diadem; he must indeed have been one of the last kings to reign within the boundaries of the empire; client kingdoms were by the time he died becoming an anachronism. But he was not the only member of the Herodian house who reigned in this generation. The imperial government, though it mistrusted the ability of the family to control the Jews—even Agrippa himself ruled a kingdom that was predominantly pagan—showed its confidence in its loyalty and in its administrative capacity by the use which it made of it in other and often distant fields. Nero in A.D. 57, when a Parthian war over the disputed kingdom of Greater Armenia threatened, appointed Agrippa's first cousin Aristobulus, son of Herod, king of Chalcis, and his first wife Mariamme, to be king of Armenia Minor. It was strategically a vitally important district, the key of the Upper Euphrates frontier, and it is a strong testimony to the high place which the Herodian family occupied in the esteem of the Roman government that in those troubled times one of its members



should have been selected to rule it; the choice is all the more remarkable since Aristobulus had no local connexions, being of purely Jewish descent. *Aristobulus seems to have given satisfaction in the wars that followed, and he reigned till A.D. 71, when in Vespasian's reorganization of the upper Euphrates frontier Armenia Minor was annexed. This step implied no dissatisfaction with Aristobulus, for he was immediately compensated with another kingdom, Chalcidene in northern Syria. As king of Chalcidene he assisted in A.D. 72 in the war against Antiochus of Commagene, which ended in the annexation of that kingdom. His coins prove that he reigned at least fifteen years longer, and it is possible that he did not die till A.D. 92, when his capital Chalcis initiated a new era to mark its transformation into a republic. His queen was that Salome who as a girl had danced before Antipas and received as her reward the head of John the Baptist. He had by her three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; their fate is unknown.*

Another branch of the Herodian family also supplied several kings to the empire: that descended from Alexander, the elder of Herod's two sons by Mariamme. This branch scarcely perhaps deserves a place in this history, since it abandoned the Jewish faith, and its value to the imperial government lay not so much in its descent from Herod as in its connexions, through Alexander's wife Glaphyra, with the royal lines of Cappadocia and Armenia. Alexander's second son Tigranes was made king of Armenia by Augustus in about A.D. 6; but the rule of a young prince of occidental habits—he had been educated at Rome—was not acceptable to the conservative Armenian nobility, and he was soon expelled. He seems to have lived subsequently at Rome, where in A.D. 36 he fell a victim to the suspicions of Tiberius. Undeterred by this failure, Nero in A.D. 60 appointed his nephew, another Tigranes, to fill another vacancy on the Armenian throne; the second Tigranes was for the same

reasons equally unsuccessful in holding the allegiance of the Armenian nobility, and rashly attempting to gain popularity by a war against his neighbour on the south-east, Media Atropatane, brought upon himself the vengeance of the Parthian king and was ignominiously expelled from Armenia. Nevertheless the family still retained the favour of the Roman government, and when in A.D. 72 Vespasian deposed Antiochus of Commagene, he entrusted the unruly district of Ceticus in the Cilician mountains, which had been subject to him, to Alexander, the son of Tigranes: Alexander had some claim in that he had married Iotape, Antiochus' daughter, but Antiochus' direct heirs were passed over in his favour. He seems to have had a long reign, and died full of honours, having held the consulship. This line of the family can be traced a little farther. An inscription records that Gaius Julius Agrippa, the son of King Alexander, was quaestor of the province of Asia, and it is plausible to suggest that Gaius Julius Alexander Berenicianus, who may have fought in Trajan's Parthian campaigns, was probably consul in A.D. 117 and was certainly proconsul of Asia in A.D. 132, was a son or grandson of King Alexander. He is the last of the posterity of Herod the Great of whom we know, and with him this Idumaeen family, which had for nearly two centuries faithfully served the empire, melts into the Roman senatorial aristocracy.

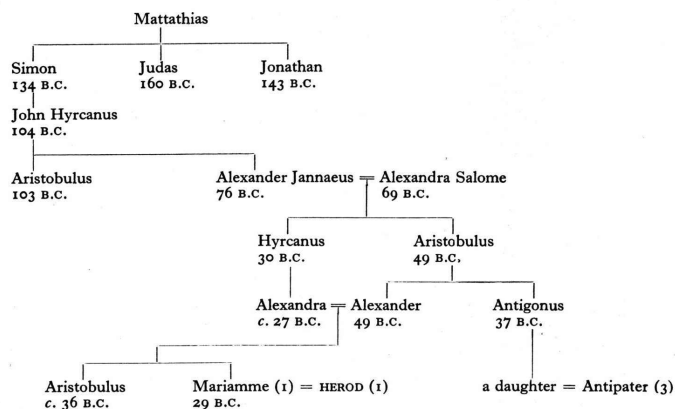
# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

80 B.C.	ROMAN EMPIRE	SYRIA	HIGH PRIESTS	80 B.C.	PALESTINE	ITURAEA	ARABIA
70 B.C.			Hyrchanus	70 B.C.	Salome Alexandra		Aretas III
60 B.C.		Cn. Pompeius Magnus	Aristobulus	60 B.C.	Aristobulus <i>Pompey takes Jerusalem</i> Hyrchanus	Ptolemy s. of Mennaeus	
50 B.C.	✕ <i>Pharsalus</i> <i>Murder of Caesar</i> ✕ <i>Philippi</i>	A. Gabinius M. Licinius Crassus C. Cassius Longinus	Hyrchanus	50 B.C.	The District Councils		
40 B.C.	Triumvirate	Sextus Caesar C. Cassius Longinus <i>Parthian invasion</i> P. Ventidius C. Sosius	Antigonos Ananel: Aristobulus Ananel	40 B.C.	<i>Antipater in Egypt</i> Hyrchanus <i>Murder of Antipater</i> <i>Herod sails to Rome</i> Antigonos <i>Herod takes Jerusalem</i> <i>Herod summoned to Laodicea</i>	Lysanias	Malchus I
30 B.C.	✕ <i>Actium</i>	Varro <i>Augustus in Syria</i> <i>Agrippa in Syria</i>	Jesus s. of Phabis	30 B.C.	<i>Execution of Hyrcanus</i> <i>Execution of Mariamme</i> <i>Sebastas begun</i> <i>The famine</i> <i>Caesarea begun</i> Herod	Zenodorus	<i>Auranitis dispute</i> Obedas II (Syllaeus)
20 B.C.		M. Titius C. Sentius Saturninus P. Quinctilius Varus	Simon s. of Boethus	20 B.C.	<i>Building of the Temple</i> <i>Herod sails to Aquileia</i>	Herod <i>First revolt</i> <i>Idumaeen colony</i> <i>Second revolt</i> <i>Babylonian colony</i>	<i>Raepia incident</i>
10 B.C.	<i>Death of Agrippa</i>		Matthias s. of Theophilus Joazar s. of Boethus	10 B.C.	<i>Execution of Mariamme's sons</i> <i>Execution of Antipater</i>		Aretas IV
4 B.C.	Augustus			4 B.C.			

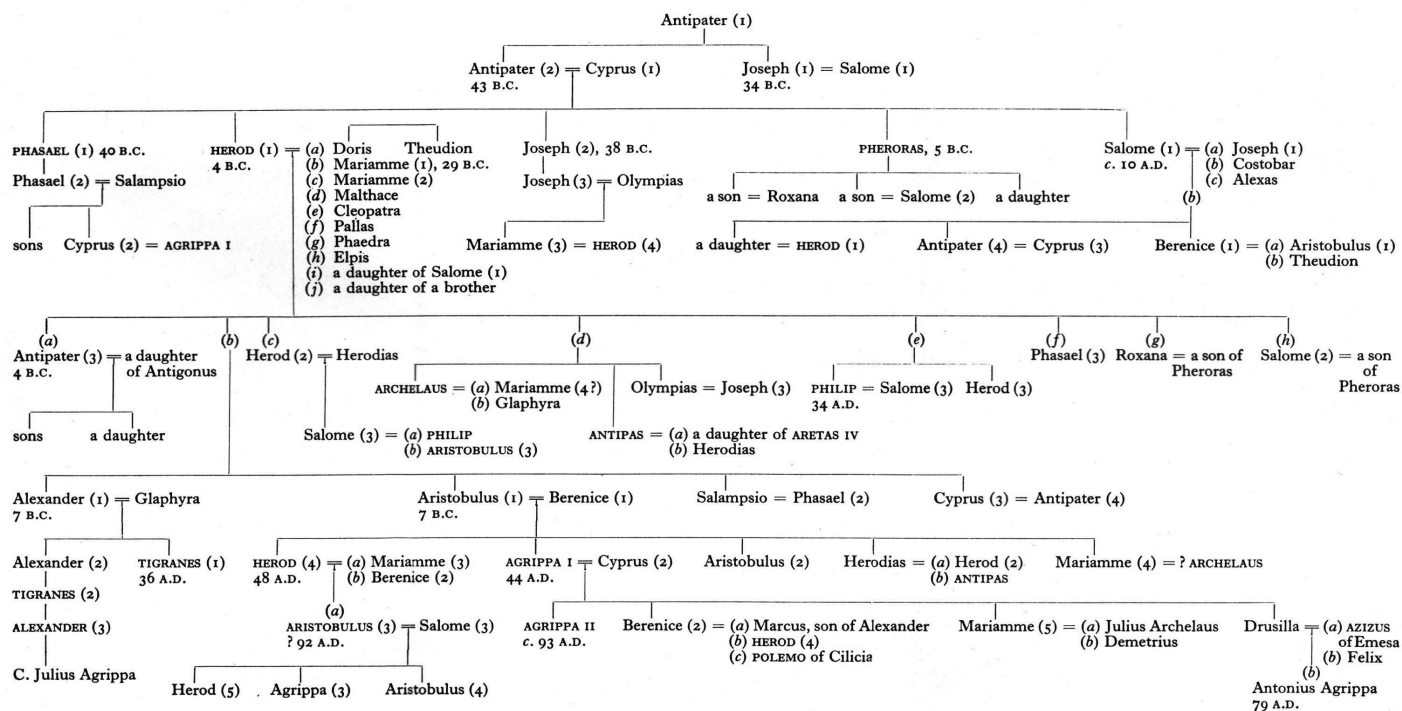
# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (continued)

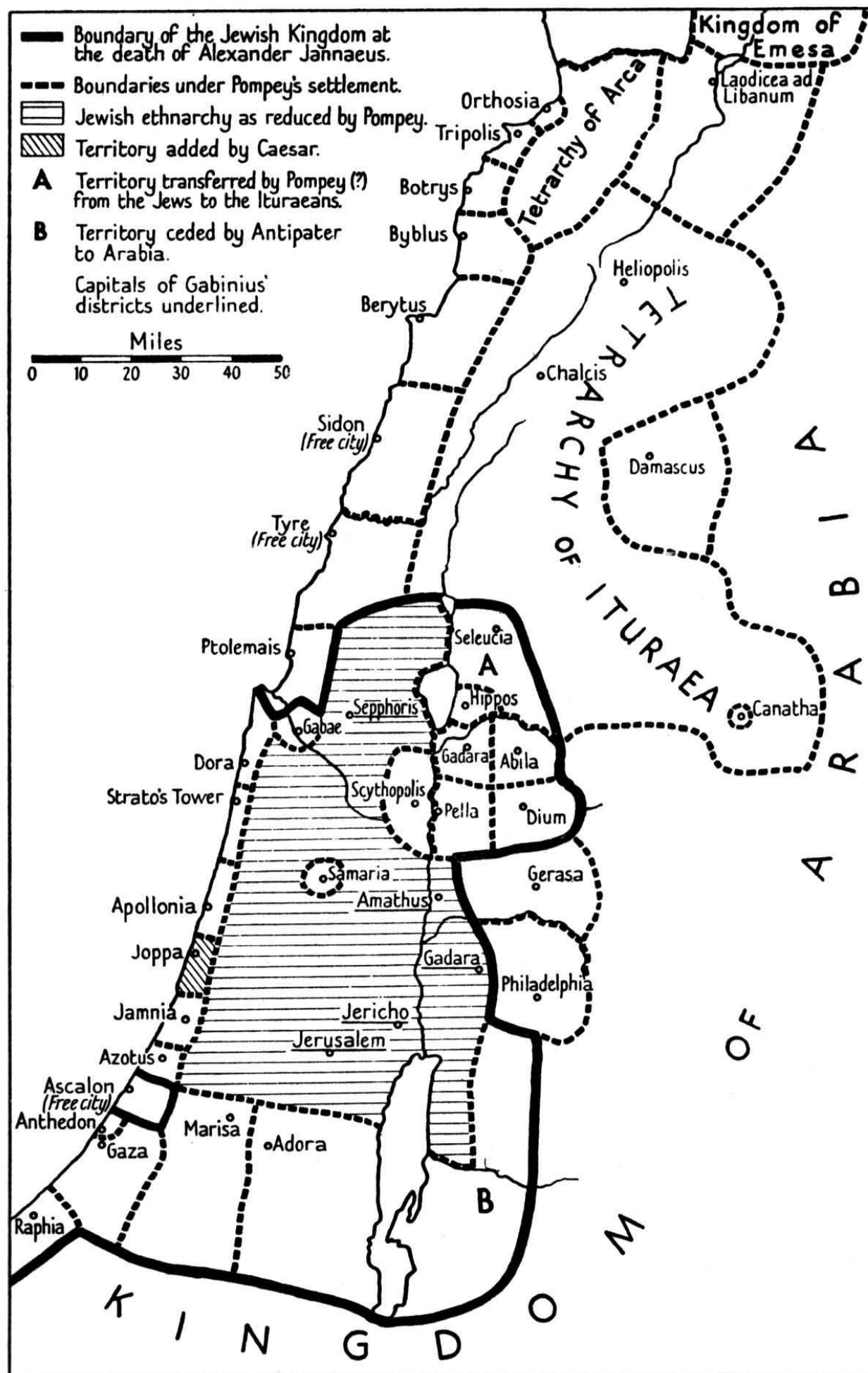
ROMAN EMPIRE	SYRIA	HIGH PRIESTS	JUDAEA	GALILEE AND PERAEA	NE. DISTRICTS	ARABIA
4 B.C.	Augustus		4 B.C.			
	P. Sulpicius Quirinius	Eleazar s. of Boethus	Archelaus			
		Jesus s. of Sec				
A.D. 10		Ananus s. of Seth	Coponius A.D. 10 M. Ambivius Annius Rufus		Philip	
		Ishmael s. of Phabis		Antipas		
		Eleazar s. of Ananus				
		Simon s. of Camith	Valerius Gratus A.D. 20			Aretas IV
A.D. 20	Death of Germanicus					
	Death of Drusus Tiberius	Joseph Caiaphas		Preaching of John Preaching of Jesus		
A.D. 30	Fall of Sejanus		Pontius Pilatus A.D. 30			
	L. Pomponius Flaccus					
	L. Vitellius	Jonathan (Theophilus)	Marullus			
	Gaius	Simon Cantheras	A.D. 40 Agrippa I	Agrippa I	Agrippa I Herod of Chalcis	
A.D. 40		Matthias s. of Ananus				
		Elionaeus s. of Cantheras	Cuspius Fadus			
		Joseph s. of Camith	Tib. Julius Alexander			
		Ananias s. of Nebedseu				
A.D. 50			A.D. 50 Ventidius Cumanus		Agrippa II of Chalcis	
		Ishmael s. of Phabis				
		Joseph Cabi	M. Antonius Felix			Malchus
		Ananus s. of Ananus				
		Jesus s. of Damnaeus	A.D. 60 Porcius Festus Clodius Albinus Gessius Florus	The four top-archies granted to Agrippa II		
		Jesus s. of Gamaliel				
		Matthias s. of Theophilus	The Great Revolt			
		Phannias				
A.D. 60	Nero					
		C. Cestius Gallus				
A.D. 70	Year of the Four Emperors Vespasian (-79 A.D.)		A.D. 70 Capture of Jerusalem		Agrippa II (-93 A.D.?)	

*The dates are those of death*

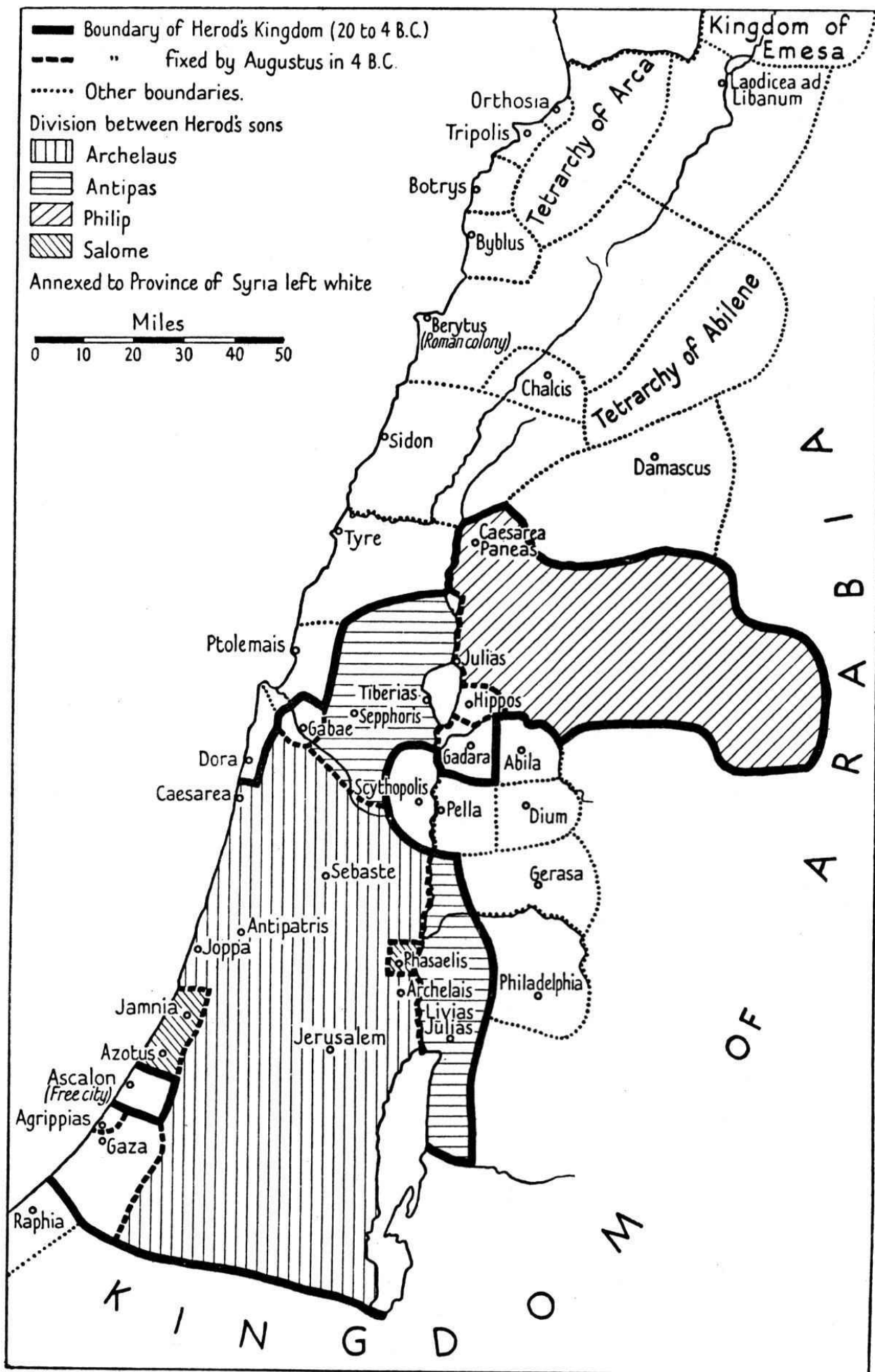


*The dates are those of death. Kings, Ethnarchs, and Tetrarchs are in small capitals*



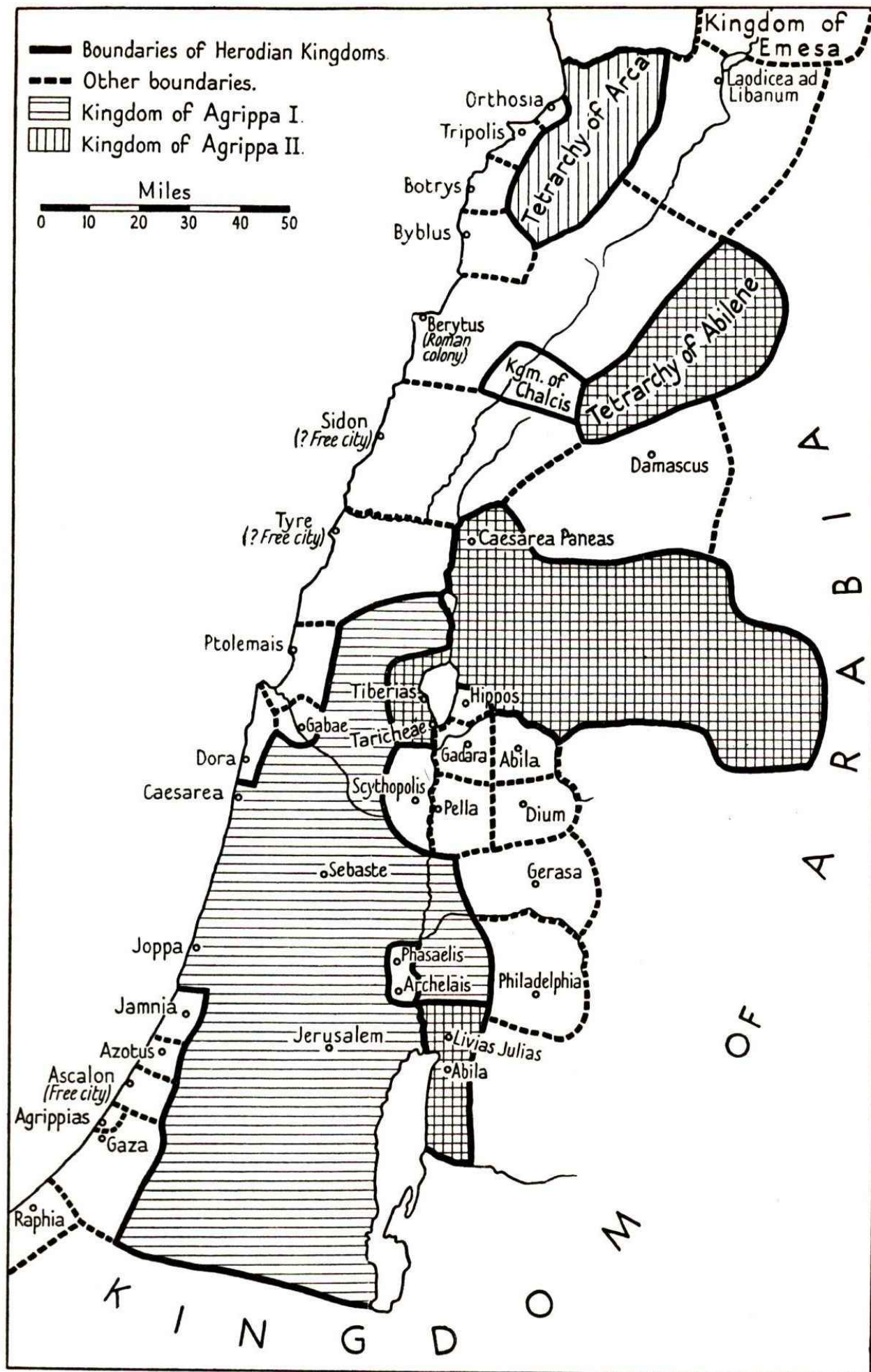


I. IN THE TIME OF ANTIPATER



## II. IN THE TIME OF HEROD THE GREAT AND HIS SONS SOUTHERN SYRIA





III. IN THE TIME OF AGRIPPA I AND II



# PALESTINE

Miles  
0 10 20 30 40

Land over 4,926 ft  
" " 657 ft.  
Land below sea-level

Fortresses

Names underlined are  
capitals of toparchies



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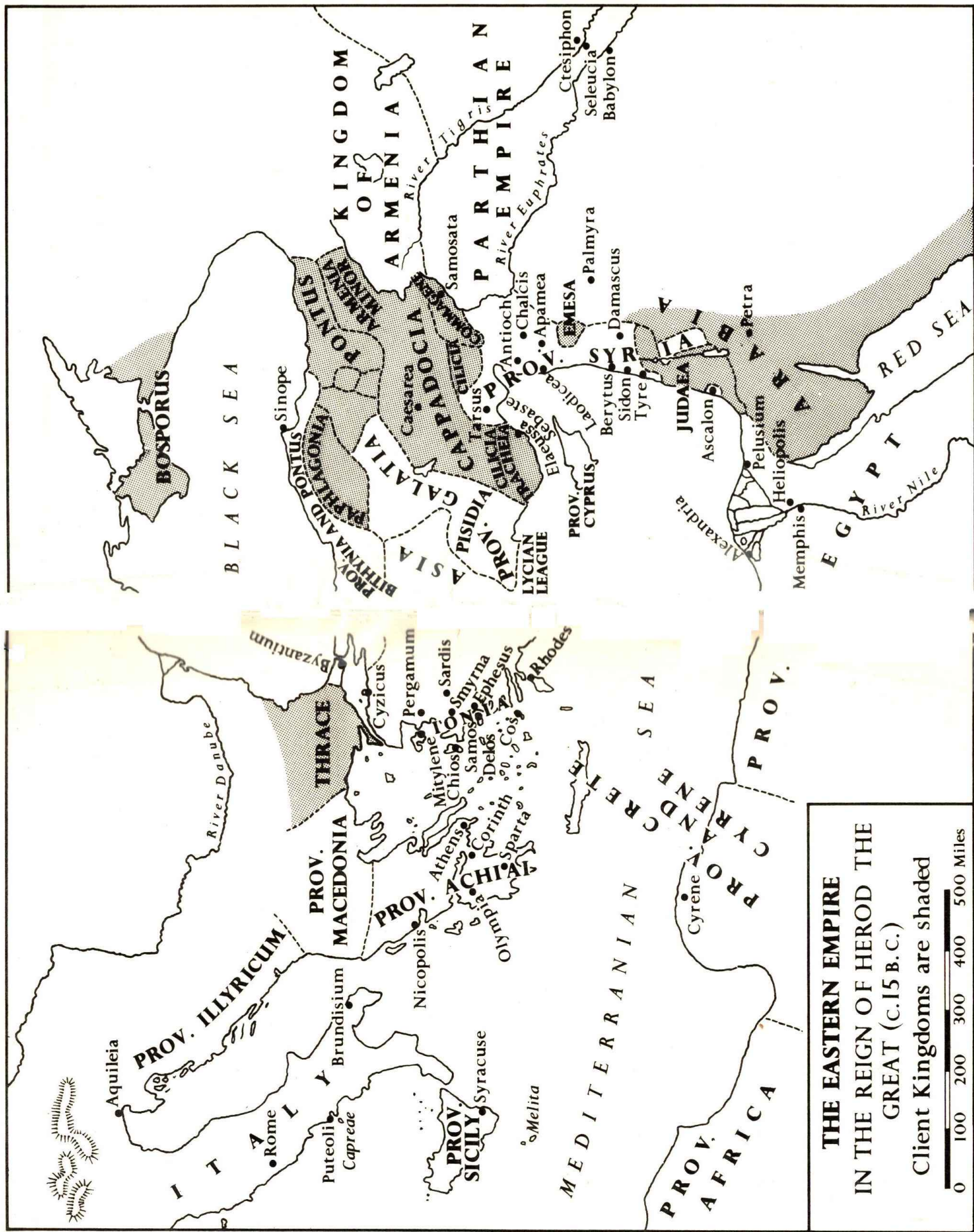
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**THE EASTERN EMPIRE  
IN THE REIGN OF HEROD THE  
GREAT (c.15 B.C.)**  
Client Kingdoms are shaded

0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles